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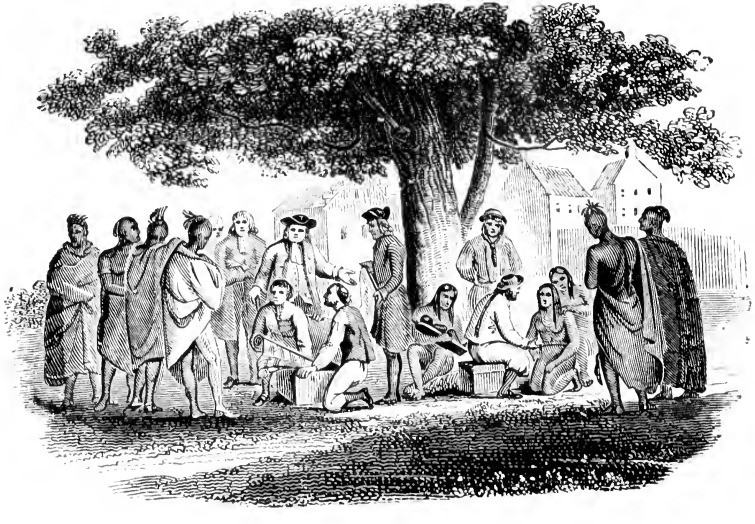

# Primitive Christianity

## REVIVED

IN THE FAITH AND PRACTICE OF THE PEOPLE CALLED

# QUAKERS;

WRITTEN

IN TESTIMONY TO THE PRESENT DISPENSATION OF GOD THROUGH THEM TO THE WORLD;

THAT

PREJUDICES MAY BE REMOVED, THE SIMPLE INFORMED, THE WELL-INCLINED ENCOURAGED, AND THE TRUTH AND ITS INNOCENT FRIENDS RIGHTLY REPRESENTED.

BY

WILLIAM PENN.

To which is prefixed a Memoir of Penn,

By JAMES M. BROWN,

OF VIRGINIA.

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*This reprint gives much of the Scripture which is referred to in the original.*

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1857.

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THE author gratefully acknowledges the many favours he has received in aiding him to get up this book, particularly that of JNO. FROST, LL.D., for the plate of the likeness of William Penn, and that of Messrs. H. COWPERTHWAIT & Co., for the loan of their plate of William Penn's Treaty with the Indians at Philadelphia.

Of the various representations of that ever-memorable event, none that he has seen so fully sets it forth according to his fancy as it is in the third revised edition of Mitchell's Primary Geography, published by Messrs. H. Cowperthwait & Co., of Philadelphia, 1854, page 73.

And for the free use which the author has made of the works of others who have written of William Penn, he now tenders his profound acknowledgments.

And last, but not least, to EDWARD W. MILLER, Esq., of the firm of Miller & Burlock, bookbinders, &c., George Street, Philadelphia, for the great attention he bestowed in procuring materials, &c.

To appreciate fully such favours, they must be received by one remote and unacquainted in cities, like

THE AUTHOR.



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# TO THE PUBLIC:

*But more especially to the followers of William Penn, George Fox, and Robert Barclay.*

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If it be made a question why a member of the M. E. Church should interest himself so much as to reprint a work of William Penn's more than one hundred and fifty years after its first publication, and a short memoir of the man, let the answer be—William Penn, like the great Washington, was a benefactor to his race. No country or sect can claim him exclusively; his acts were too general in their character and noble in their object to be confined or appropriated to any clime or to any persuasion; hence my privilege. Read the work attentively, and consider well the character of the man, in connection with the condition of the world at that time,—its moral darkness, the prevalency of dishonesty, priestcraft, superstition, intolerance, bigotry, church pride, and arrogance; in short, every thing hateful to a man like William Penn, who was too wise to be cheated by the vanities, empty professions, or promises, of this fleeting world; and then judge whether it be not high time to recur to first lessons and first principles, and whether there be a man, woman, or child, who would not only be gratified, but much profited, by a careful and proper reading of this little volume; thence my object and pleasure.

The Author.

A

# BRIEF MEMOIR

OF

# WILLIAM PENN.

## CHAPTER I.

"He views
The dismal situation waste and wild;
A dungeon horrible on all sides round,
As one great furnace flamed; yet from those flames
No light, but rather darkness visible
Served only to discover sights of wo,
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades,
Where peace and rest can never dwell."—*Paradise Lost.*

Our earth, all beautiful as it is, and admirably adapted to contribute to the wants of the human family and render them happy, has been by them converted into something very much resembling a slaughter-house.

From the earliest account of man, we learn that among his first acts was that of murder, most foul and malicious. Almost every page of his history repeats the sad story of his murderous deeds; and but for the light of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, darkness would reign supreme.

At intervals the light has shone brightly, the clouds of ignorance and wickedness appeared to be yielding to the influence of the gospel, and hope has again and again sprung up anew in the bosom of the faithful; but alas! alas! darkness returned with tenfold horrors.

The Reformation seemed to promise much to the cause of

Christ. The powers of darkness seemed to be shaken to their centre, and a flood of light was poured upon the earth that appeared sufficient to dispel the gloom and make it all glorious within; but man, the poor recipient, proved himself again unworthy, and in a few years perverted the blessings that Heaven, in mercy, had richly bestowed upon him; and, instead of seeking for others, by the operation and exercise of faith, hope, and charity, we find him endeavouring to merit heaven by *good works*, and in his *blindness and bigotry* burning all those who had independence enough to think and act for themselves.

What an astounding disclosure it would be to the world could I but give the number and extent of that multitude of men, women, and children who have suffered death for opinion's sake at the hands of the ruthless executioner of religious intolerance!

If it be asked which was the guilty party, *let the answer be forever remembered.* It was the party in power. And the constant warfare waged for ascendency has kept the earth stained with blood. Any one who will read carefully the history of Europe for two centuries beginning with the year 1500, will, I am sure, conclude that darkness then covered the earth as the waters cover the great deep. Within this period of time, to wit, on Monday, October the 14th, 1644, was born in London, the great champion of religious liberty, the American lawgiver, and founder of Pennsylvania, William Penn. He was the son of Sir William Penn, a man of good estate and high reputation, who in the time of the Commonwealth served in some of the highest maritime offices, and whose tomb bears the following inscription:

To the Just Memory of Sir William Penn, Knight, and sometimes General, Born at Bristol, Anno 1621. Son of Captain Giles Penn, several years Consul for the English in the Mediterranean; of the Penns of Pennslodge in the County of Wilts, and those Penns of Penn in

the County of Bucks, and by his mother from the Gilberts, in the County of Somerset, originally from Yorkshire, addicted from his youth to Maritime affairs: He was made Captain at the years of Twenty One, Rear-Admiral of Ireland at Twenty Three, Vice-Admiral of Ireland at Twenty Five, Admiral to the Streights at Twenty Nine, Vice-Admiral of England at Thirty One, and General in the first Dutch War at Thirty Two. Whence returning, Anno 1655, He was a Parliament-Man for the Town of Weymouth; 1660 made Commissioner of the Admiralty and Navy, Governor of the Town and Fort of Kingsail; Vice-Admiral of Munster, and a Member of that Provincial Council, and Anno 1664 was chosen Great Captain Commander under his Royal Highness, in that Signal and most evidently Successful Fight against the Dutch Fleet.

Thus he took leave of the Sea, his old Element, but continued still his other Employs, till 1669, at which time, through Bodily Infirmities contracted by the Care and Fatigue of Public Affairs, he withdrew, prepared, and made for his end; and with a gentle and even Gale in much Peace arrived, and anchored in his last and best Port at Wanstead in the County of Essex, the 16th of September, 1670, being then but Forty Nine years and four months old.

To His Name and Memory, His Surviving Lady hath Erected This Remembrance.

After the Restoration he was knighted by King Charles the Second, being a peculiar favourite of the then Duke of York, James, a brother to Charles.

Paternal care, and a promising prospect of his son's advancement, induced the father to give him a *liberal education;* and the youth, of an excellent genius, made such early improvements in literature, that about the fifteenth year of his age he was entered a student at Christ's Church College in Oxford.

His ardent desire after pure and spiritual religion (of which he had before received some taste, or relish, through the ministry of one Thomas Loe, a Quaker) now began to show itself; for, with certain other students of that university, he withdrew from the national way of worship, and held private meetings for the exercise of religion, where they both preached and prayed among themselves. This gave great offence to the heads of the college, and when but

sixteen years of age he was fined for nonconformity; for persisting in the practice, he was soon after expelled.

At this time the true character of the youth was fully developed. He was endowed with many good properties, not the least of which were the power of great discernment; a firmness of purpose, with a moral courage that knew no fear; a perfect disregard for the opinion of the world, when that opinion was at variance with his sense of duty, or stood between him and his God; a sense of justice capable of making the nicest discriminations, accompanied by a moral honesty that stopped at no sacrifice; a perseverance that never wearied, and a spirit of tolerance and charity that was truly godlike.

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## CHAPTER II.

"Yet him God the Most High vouchsafes
To call by visions from his father's house,
His kindred and false gods, into a land
Which he will show him, and from him will raise
A mighty nation, and upon him shower
His benediction so, that in his seed
All nations shall be blest. He straight obeys,
Not knowing to what land, yet firm believes."—*Paradise Lost.*

At this time commenced the conflict between the father and the son. The fond parent, who had paved the road for his son to honour, wealth, and fame, now for the first time saw his hopes blighted, and in the anguish of his spirit resorted not only to harsh words, but to blows, in order to change his son's course; and finding both ineffectual, he turned him out of doors. The youth bore it patiently until affection triumphed over anger, when he was sent to France with some persons of quality, with the view of having his

attention directed from the subject of religion. He continued there until the object was very nearly accomplished, and when he returned his father was much pleased to find the experiment had proved so successful. A knowledge of the French language and French politeness had been acquired, together with a desire to practise them.

Now it was that he was tempted of the devil to desert his religious principles. To his youthful mind were presented the honours and pleasures of the world, the favour and love of that father who had done so much for him already, (and was anxious to do so much more,) and the comforts of his home, where he enjoyed all he could desire, with a prospect (provided he did not offend his father) of inheriting his whole estate. To all this must be added the favour of his king and the smiles and caresses of the court. Several years were spent in this dubious condition, and especial care was taken by his father to prevent a return to his former companions. He entered him as a student of law at Lincoln's Inn, had him employed in the king's service, presented him to great personages, and caused him to visit them. In the Dutch war he belonged to his father's staff for a short time, yet witnessed real service. Shortly after this the plague ravaged London, and William Penn changed his residence.

The solemn scenes he had witnessed in the metropolis no doubt revived his former religious sentiments, and more than ever convinced him of the folly of seeking happiness in any thing except purity of heart, with which he always associated a life of self-denial. The admiral was not long in discovering a change in his son's demeanour, and determined to repeat his former experiment; and, owning a fine estate in Ireland which required immediate attention, proposed to his son to go and take charge of it, giving him letters of introduction to the first officers of the government. He arrived in 1665 among his father's friends, by

whom he was received with marked respect. He associated on the most familiar and friendly terms with the Duke of Ormonde and his family. An insurrection among the soldiers at Carrickfergus afforded Penn an opportunity to display his military talents. He served as a volunteer, and so distinguished himself as to receive general applause from his superior officers, who proposed that he should join the army, and take command of a company of foot. To this he assented, and sought his father's consent, which, not being obtained, the idea was abandoned, but not before he had his likeness painted in military costume, which is said to be the truest one ever taken of him.

The duke presented him with a highly responsible office connected with the fleet at Kinsale, the duties of which he discharged to the entire satisfaction of his employer. The interest of the Irish estate required his services in London, when his superior capacity for business was fully developed. His father, fearing the religious influence of his former acquaintances, soon hurried him off to Ireland. Having business at Cork, he there met and associated with Quakers, and at their meeting again heard Thomas Loe, who began his discourse with these ever-memorable words, "There is a faith that overcomes the world, and there is a faith that is overcome by the world." By this discourse Sir Admiral Penn's apparently well-laid plans were entirely defeated, and William Penn, Jr., *thoroughly convinced*, subsequently became a regular attendant at their meetings, brooking violent persecution. In 1667 he and many others were apprehended at a Quaker meeting in Cork, and taken before the mayor, who, observing that his dress was not that of a Quaker, would have set him at liberty upon bond for his good behaviour. Penn refused to accept this, and, with eighteen others, was committed to prison.

His openly espousing the cause of the Quakers soon procured him the reproachful name, which was accompanied

with scoff and derision; he was a by-word of scorn and contempt. The father, being informed of the course his son had taken, recalled him, and on his return was fully satisfied of the truthfulness of the accounts he had received, not by his dress but by his address.

Every parent must sympathize with William Penn the elder. Language cannot describe the anguish he experienced on this occasion. I shall not attempt it. "My pen," says a former biographer, "is diffident of its abilities to describe that most pathetic and moving contest which was betwixt his father and him. His father, actuated by natural love, principally aiming at his son's temporal honour; he, guided by a divine impulse, having chiefly in view his own eternal welfare. His father, grieved to see the well-accomplished son of his hopes, now ripe for worldly promotion, voluntarily turn his back upon it; he, no less afflicted to think that a compliance with his earthly father's pleasure was inconsistent with an obedience to his heavenly one. His father, pressing his conformity to the customs and fashions of the times; he, modestly craving leave to refrain from what hurt his conscience. His father, earnestly entreating him, and almost on his knees beseeching him, to yield to his desire; he, of a loving, tender disposition, in an extreme agony of spirit to behold his father's concern and trouble. His father, threatening to disinherit him; he, humbly submitting to his father's will therein. His father, turning his back on him in anger; he, lifting up his heart to God for strength to support him in that time of trouble."

His father, to compromise matters somewhat, proposed to excuse him from complying with the fashionable manners and customs of the day, provided he would take off his hat in the presence of the king, the duke, and himself. He, desiring time to consider the question, withdrew, and humbled himself before God, with fasting and supplication. He was thus strengthened in his resolution, and, returning to

his father, humbly signified that he could not comply with his desire. His father, finding himself utterly disappointed of his hopes, could no longer endure him in his sight, and the second time turned him out of doors.

William Penn, in relating his religious experience at a meeting on the Continent in 1677, said, "Here I began to let them know how and when the Lord first appeared unto me, which was about the twelfth year of my age, anno 1656. How at times, between that and the fifteenth year, the Lord visited me, and of the divine impressions he gave me of myself, of my persecutions at Oxford, and how the Lord sustained me in the midst of that hellish darkness and debauchery; of my being banished the college; the bitter usage I underwent when I returned to my father—whipping, beating, and turning me out of doors in 1662; of the Lord's dealing with me in France, and in the time of the great plague in London; in fine, the deep sense he gave me of the vanity of this world, of the *irreligiousness* of the religions of it. Then of my mournful and bitter cries to him that he would show me his own way of life and salvation, and my resolutions to follow him, whatever reproaches or sufferings should attend me, and that with great reverence and brokenness of spirit. How after all this the glory of the world overtook me, and I was even ready to give up myself unto it, seeing as yet no such thing as the primitive spirit and church on the earth, and being ready to faint concerning my hope of the restitution of all things.

"It was at this time that the Lord visited me with a certain sound and testimony of his eternal word through one of those the world calls Quakers, namely, Thomas Loe. I related to them the bitter mockings and scornings that fell upon me, the displeasure of my parents, the invectiveness and cruelty of the priests, the strangeness of all my companions. What a sign and wonder they made of me; but,

above all, that great cross of resisting and watching against mine own inward vain afflictions and thoughts."

I feel that I would be remiss were I to fail to make another extract from his writings touching upon this immediate subject; a lesson so well calculated to encourage all those who are in the way of righteousness to persevere therein at all hazards, and at the same time to admonish parents and guardians against putting obstacles in the way of tenderly visited minds. He says, "My own father, after thirty years' employment with good success in divers places of eminent trust and honour in his own country, upon serious reflection, not long before his death, spoke to me in this manner: 'Son William, I am weary of the world; I would not live over my days again if I could command them with a wish; for the snares of life are greater than the fears of death. This troubles me, that I have offended a gracious God that has followed me to this day. Oh, have a care of sin! that is the sting both of life and death. Three things I commend to you: 1. Let nothing in this world tempt you to wrong your conscience; I charge you do nothing against your conscience; so will you keep peace at home, which will be a feast to you in a day of trouble. 2. Whatever you design to do, lay it justly and time it seasonably, for that gives security and despatch. Lastly: Be not troubled at disappointments; for if they may be recovered, do it; if they can't, trouble is vain. If you could not have helped it, be content; there is often peace and profit in submitting to Providence; for afflictions make wise. If you could have helped it, let not your trouble exceed instruction for another time. These rules will carry you with firmness and comfort through this inconstant world.' At another time he inveighed against the profaneness and impiety of the age; often crying out with an earnestness of spirit, 'Wo to thee, O England! God will judge thee, O England! Plagues are at thy door, O England!' He much bewailed

that divers men in power, and many of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom were grown so dissolute and profane, often saying, 'God has forsaken us, we are infatuated, we will shut our eyes, we will not see our true interests and happiness; we shall be destroyed!' Apprehending the consequences of the growing looseness of the age to be our ruin, and that the methods most fit to serve the kingdom, with true credit at home and abroad, were too much neglected; the trouble of which did not a little help to feed his distemper, which drew him daily nearer to his end; and as he believed it, so less concerned or disordered I never saw him at any time; of which I took good notice. Wearied to live, as well as near to die, he took his leave of us and of me with this expression, and a most composed countenance: 'Son William, if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world. Bury me by mother. Live all in love. Shun all manner of evil. And I pray God to bless you all; and he will bless you.'"

He died on Friday, 16th September, 1670. I let the reader make his own comment.

Truly man sees not as God sees; and would it be too much were I to say that God raised up William Penn for a special purpose, as he did Moses? There is certainly a very striking similarity in many important events of their lives. Moses was brought up at court; the same may be said of William Penn. Moses could look forward to the time when he could enjoy all of the worldly pleasures this life affords; so could William Penn. The popularity and wealth of Sir William Penn, and the great obligations that rested on Charles II., as well as his inclination to promote the son, rendered it plain to the weakest capacity that worldly glory was in the grasp of William Penn.

God saw proper to call the attention of Moses to the

burning bush, yet permitted it not to be consumed. This seems to be the starting-point in his religious life, and one, no doubt, to which he often recurred when his faith or patience wavered.

God kindled in the bosom of William Penn a fire that was to him as remarkable and as certain a beacon in after life as was the burning bush to Moses, with this difference, however, in favour of William Penn, his fire never ceased to burn upon the altar of his heart.

How beautifully does St. Paul describe Moses in his Epistle to the Hebrews, chap. xi. 24–27!—"By faith Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt: for he had respect unto the recompense of the reward. By faith he forsook Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the king: for he endured, as seeing Him who is invisible."

I will also record here what William Penn said of Moses, after speaking of Abraham and Job; he said, "Moses is the next great example in sacred story for remarkable *self-denial*, before the times of Christ's appearance in the flesh. He had been saved, when an infant, by an extraordinary providence; and it seems, by what follows, for an extraordinary service. Pharaoh's daughter (whose compassion was the means of his preservation when the king decreed the slaughter of the Hebrew males) took him for her son, and gave him the education of her father's court. His own graceful presence and extraordinary abilities, joined with her love for him and interest in her father to promote him, must have rendered him, if not capable of succession, at least of being chief minister of affairs under that wealthy and powerful prince. For Egypt was then, what Athens and Rome were after, the most famous for learning, arts, and glory.

"But Moses, ordained for other work, and guided by a better star, a higher principle, no sooner came to years of discretion, than the impiety of Egypt and the oppression of his brethren there, grew a burden too heavy for him to bear. And though so wise and good a man could not want those generous and grateful resentments that became the kindness of the king's daughter to him, yet he had also seen that God that was invisible, and did not dare to live in the ease and plenty of Pharaoh's house whilst his poor brethren were required to make brick without straw.

"Thus the fear of the Almighty taking deep hold of his heart, he nobly refused to be called the son of *Pharaoh's* daughter, and chose rather a life of affliction with the most despised and opprest Israelites, and to be the companions of their temptations and jeopardies, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season: esteeming the reproach of Christ (which he suffered for making that unworldly choice) greater riches than all the treasures of that kingdom. Nor was he so foolish as they thought him. He had reason on his side; for it is said he had an eye to the recompense of the reward: he did but refuse a lesser benefit for a greater. In this his wisdom transcended that of the Egyptians, for they made the present world their choice, (as uncertain as the weather,) and so lost that which has no end.

"Moses looked deeper, and weighed the enjoyments of this life in the scales of eternity, and found they made no weight there. He governed himself, not by the immediate possession, but the nature and duration of the reward. His faith corrected his affections, and taught him to sacrifice the pleasures of self to the hope he had of a future more excellent recompense."

Permit me to pursue the parallel. By faith William Penn, when he was come to years, refused to enjoy the pleasures of the court of Charles the Second; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to

enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than all the honours of England: for he had respect unto the recompense of the reward. By faith he forsook England, not fearing the wrath of the king: for he endured, as seeing him who is invisible.

What a remarkable man, and what a remarkable life! With every opportunity for the enjoyment of all that worldlings could desire, he, when yet a youth, renounces them all, and incurs the absolute displeasure of his king and father, and was turned out of doors; incurs the scoffs and sneers of every worldly-minded man at home and abroad; associates with the low and humble and despised followers of Jesus Christ; suffering persecution and imprisonment joyfully.

In the fulness of time, however, a door of deliverance is opened for him and his oppressed brethren. The second land of promise is in view, but Penn is required to do more than Moses, yet his faith fails not. He hesitates not to embark a very large portion of his estate (some say $200,000) in a wilderness beyond an ocean three thousand miles in width, inhabited by a few European adventurers and hordes of savages. He called it the holy experiment.

I will here insert a letter which was written by him at Chester, Pennsylvania, on the 5th of the 12th month, (February,) 1682, which will explain my views more fully.

My Old Friend:—

I could speak largely of God's dealings with me in getting this thing. What an inward exercise of faith and patience it cost me in passing. The travail was mine, as well as the debt and costs, through the envy of many, both professors, false friends, and profane. My God hath given it me in the face of the world, and it is to hold it in true judgment, as a reward of my sufferings; and that is seen

here, whatever some despisers may say or think. The place God has given me, and I never felt judgment for the power I kept, but trouble for what I parted with. It is more than a worldly title or patent that hath called me in this place.

Keep thy place: I am in mine, and have served the God of the whole earth since I have been in it; nor am I sitting down in a greatness that I have denied. I am, day and night, spending my life, my time, my money, and am not sixpence enriched by this greatness; costs in getting, settling, transportation, and maintenance now in a public manner at my own charge duly considered; to say nothing of my hazard and the distance I am from a considerable estate, and, which is more, my dear wife and poor children. Well, the Lord is a God of righteous judgment. Had I sought greatness I had stayed at home, where the difference between what I am here and was offered and could have been there, in power and wealth, is as wide as the places are. No, I came for the Lord's sake, and therefore have I stood to this day, well, and diligent, and successful, *blessed be his power*. Nor shall I trouble myself to tell thee what I am to the people of this place, in travails, watchings, spendings, and my servants every way, freely, (not like a selfish man,) I have many witnesses.

To conclude, it is now in friends' hands. Through my travail, faith, and patience, it came. If friends here keep to God, and in the justice, mercy, equity and fear of the Lord, their enemies will be their footstool; if not, their heirs, and my heirs too, will lose all, and desolation will follow; but, blessed be the Lord, we are well, and live in the dear love of God, and the fellowship of his tender, heavenly Spirit; and our faith is for ourselves and one another, that the Lord will be with us a King and a Counsellor forever.

Thy ancient though grieved friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

I will here give an extract from his writings, to show what sustained him in his trials and tribulations.

"Wherefore, my dear friends, be not you discomfited; for there is no new thing happened unto you; 'tis the ancient path of the righteous. For thy sake, says David, have I borne reproach; I am become a stranger to my brethren, and an alien to my mother's children. When I wept, and chastened my soul with fasting, that was to my reproach. I made sackcloth also my garment, and I became a proverb to them. They that sit in the gate speak against me; and I was the song of the drunkard. Save me, O God, for the waters are come in unto my soul; and the waterfloods are ready to swallow me up. They persecute him whom thou hast smitten; and they talk to the grief of those whom thou hast wounded.

"Do you not know this, dear friends? are not your tears become a reproach, your fasts a wonder, your paleness a derision, your plainness a proverb, and your serious and retired conversation a *byword?* Yea, when the Lord hath wounded, have not they also grieved? And when the Lord hath smitten you, have not they mocked? But this was David's joy, The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want; he restoreth my soul; he leadeth me in the path of righteousness for his name's sake; he maketh me to lie down in green pastures; he leadeth me beside the still waters. Yea, though I walk through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me, thy rod and thy staff comfort me.

"Who was the comforter and preserver of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, that refused to obey the king's command against the commandment of God? They would not bow to his image; but rather chose the fiery furnace than to commit idolatry, or bow to another thing than to the living God. Did not we cast three men into the midst of the fire? said Nebuchadnezzar; lo, I see four men loose,

walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt. And the form of the fourth is like the Son of God.

"Oh! my friends, the fire obeyeth him, as well as the winds and seas. All power is given to the Son of God, who is given to you for your salvation. Well, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego the king calleth out of the fire, and they have no harm, though the mighty men that cast them into the fiery furnace were consumed. The God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego is by the king highly preferred. Here is the end of faithfulness; here is the blessing of perseverance. God will bring honour to his name, through the patience and integrity of his people.

"And it was this Son of God that preserved Daniel in the lion's den; it was his voice, that David said, divideth the flames of fire; he rideth upon the winds, he sitteth upon the floods. The voice of the Lord is powerful; the voice of the Lord is full of majesty. They that trust in him shall never be confounded. Blessed are they whose God is the Lord: for he is a present help in the needful time of trouble. The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and he delivereth them. Oh! taste and see that the Lord is good. Blessed is the man that trusteth in him. Oh! fear the Lord, for there is no want to them that fear him. The young lions shall lack, and the old lions suffer hunger, but they that seek the Lord shall not want for any good thing. Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all; for the Lord redeemeth the souls of his servants, and none of them that trust in him shall be made desolate. For which cause, my dear friends, cast away every weight, and every burden, and the sin that doth so easily beset you. Neither look at the enemies' strength, nor at your own weakness; but look unto Jesus, the blessed Author of your convincement and faith: the mighty one, on whom God hath laid help for all those that believe in his name, receive his testimony, and live in

his doctrine; who said to his dear followers of old, Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world. Fear not, little flock; it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom; and they that endure to the end shall be saved. I will not leave you comfortless, said he; I will come to you; he that is with you shall be in you.

"This was the hope of their glory, the foundation of their building, which standeth sure. And though sorrow cometh over night, yet joy shall come in the morning. Ye shall weep and lament, said Jesus, but the world shall rejoice, and ye shall be sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy, and their rejoicing into howling. And, lo! I am with you to the end of the world.

"Be ye, therefore, encouraged in the holy way of the Lord; wait diligently for his daily manifestations unto your souls, that you may be strengthened in your inward man, with might and power to do the will of God on earth as it is done in heaven. Oh! watch that you enter not into temptation; yea, watch unto prayer that you enter not into temptation, and that you fail not by the temptation.

"Christ said to Peter, canst not thou watch one hour? Every one hath an hour of temptation to go through; and this is the hour that every one is to watch. Jesus, the Captain of our salvation, was under great temptations; he was sad unto death; he did sweat drops of blood, but he watched, he prayed, he groaned; yea, he cried with strong cries; but through suffering overcame; and remember how in the wilderness he was tempted, but the angels of the Lord ministered to him. So they that follow him in the way of the tribulations and patience of his kingdom, God's angels shall minister unto them all; yea, he will keep them in the hour of temptation; he will carry their heads above the waters and deliver them from the devouring floods.

"Wherefore, finally, my friends, I say unto you in the name of the Lord, Be of good cheer! Look to Jesus, and

fear not man, whose breath is in his nostrils. But be valiant for the truth on earth. Love not your lives unto the death, and you shall receive a crown of life and glory, which the God of the fathers, the God of the prophets, the God of the apostles, and the God of the martyrs, the true confessors of Jesus; yea, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ shall give unto all those that keep the pure testimony of his Son in their hearts and patiently and faithfully endure to the end.

"Now to Him who is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy; to the only wise God, our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever. Amen.

"I am your friend that sincerely loves you, and earnestly travails for your redemption, WILLIAM PENN."

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## CHAPTER III.

"All deprav'd,
Justice and temp'rance, truth and faith forgot,
One man except, the only son of light
In a dark age, against example, good;
Against allurement, custom, and the world
Offended; fearless of reproach and scorn,
Or violence, he of their wicked ways
Shall them admonish, and before them set
The paths of righteousness, how much more safe
And full of peace, denouncing wrath to come
On their impenitence; and shall return
Of them derided, but of God observ'd."
* * * * *
To teach thee that God attributes to place
No sanctity, if none be thither brought,
By men who there frequent or therein dwell.
And now what further shall ensue, behold."—*Paradise Lost.*

THE history of the transaction in regard to the purchase of Pennsylvania, as recorded in an early "Life of William

Penn," is as follows:—"King Charles the Second, in consideration of the services of Sir William Penn, and sundry debts due to him from the crown at the time of his decease, by letters-patent, bearing date the 4th day of March, 1680-81, granted to William Penn and his heirs that province lying on the west side of the river Delaware in North America, formerly belonging to the Dutch, and then called the New Netherlands" The name was now changed by the king, in honor of William Penn, whom, and his heirs, he made absolute proprietors and governors of it. Upon this, he presently published an account of the province of Pennsylvania, with the king's patent, and other papers relating thereto, describing the country and its produce, and proposing an easy purchase of lands, offering 100 acres for 40 shillings, or 5000 acres for £100, and good terms of settlement for such as might incline to transport themselves. Many single persons and some families out of England and Wales went over, and with singular industry and application having cleared their purchased lands, settled and soon improved plantations to good advantage, and began to build the city of Philadelphia in a commodious situation on the aforesaid navigable river Delaware.

And to secure the new planters from the native Indians, (who in some other provinces being injuriously dealt with, had made reprisals to the loss of many lives,) the governor gave orders to treat them with all candour and humanity; and appointed commissioners to confer with them about land, and to confirm a league of peace, by whom he also sent the following letter:—

### WILLIAM PENN'S LETTER TO THE INDIANS.

London, the 18th of the 8th month, 1681.

My Friends:

There is a great God and power that hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you and I and all

people owe their being and well-being, and to whom you and I must give an account for all that we do in the world. This great God hath written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love and help, and do good to one another and not to do harm and mischief one unto another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world, and the king of the country where I live hath given me a great province therein, but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbours and friends; else what would the great God do to us? who hath made us not to devour and destroy one another, but to live soberly and kindly together in the world. Now I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice that hath been too much exercised towards you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves, and to make great advantages of you, rather than to be examples of justice and goodness unto you, which I hear hath been matters of trouble to you, and caused great grudgings and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood, which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard towards you, and I desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life, and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly, and if in any thing any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them. I shall shortly come to you myself, at what time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters; in the mean time I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land, and a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them and the people, and receive

these presents and tokens which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good will to you, and my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you.

I am your loving friend,
WILLIAM PENN.

His friendly and pacific manner of teaching the Indians begat in them an extraordinary love and regard to him and his people, so that they have maintained a perfect amity with the English of Pennsylvania ever since. And 'tis observable, that upon renewing the treaty with the present governor, Sir William Keith, Bar., in 1722, they mention the name of William Penn with much gratitude and affection, calling him a good man, and as their highest compliment to Sir William use this expression, "We esteem and love you as if you were William Penn himself. So universally doth a principle of peace, justice, and morality operate on the hearts even of those we call heathens."

He also drew up the fundamental constitution of Pennsylvania in twenty-four articles, consented to and subscribed by the first adventurers and freeholders of that province, as the ground and rule of all future government: the first of which articles, showing that his principle was to give as well as take liberty of conscience in matters of religion, we shall transcribe.

THE FIRST CONSTITUTION.

In reverence to God, the Father of light and spirits, the author as well as object of all divine knowledge, faith, and worship, I do for me and mine declare and establish for the first fundamental of the government of this country, that any person that doth or shall reside therein shall have and enjoy the free profession of his or her faith and exercise of worship toward God in such way and manner as any such person shall in conscience believe is most acceptable

to God. And so long as any such person useth not this Christian liberty to licentiousness, or the destruction of others, that is to say, to speak loosely and profanely or contemptuously of God, Christ, the Holy Scriptures, or religion, or commit any moral evil or injury against others in their conversation, he or she shall be protected in the enjoyment of the aforesaid Christian liberty by the civil magistrate.

In the next year, 1682, he published the frame of government of Pennsylvania, containing twenty-four articles somewhat varying from the aforesaid constitutions, together with certain other laws to the number of forty, agreed on in England by the governor and diverse freemen of the said province. Of which laws one was

That all persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge the one almighty and eternal God to be the Creator and upholder and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in nowise be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion, or practice in matters of faith and worship; nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever.

In the 6th month, (August,) 1682, William Penn with many of his friends sailed for his province; in six weeks they saw the American coast. Sailing up the Delaware, the inhabitants, Swedes, Dutch and English received him with many demonstrations of joy. He landed at New Castle, which was principally inhabited by Dutch, and the next day he summoned the people to the court-house where possession of the country was legally given him. He then sailed for Upland, or Optland, now Chester, where he called an Assembly, and declared his purpose of coming among them, and the ends of his government, giving them assurances of a free enjoyment of liberty of conscience in things

spiritual and of civil freedom in temporal, and recommended to them to live in sobriety and peace one with another, and received their thankful acknowledgments, 1681.

Now began that remarkable event, the Exodus of the Quakers, and so extensive was it that William Penn, in a letter to the Marquis of Halifax, written on the 9th of the 12th month, (February,) 1683, says: "I must without vanity say I have led the greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon a private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it are to be found among us." He also added, "Since last summer we have had about sixty sail of great and small shipping."

The emigration was not confined to England, it extended to Germany, Ireland, Holland, and Wales, which must have been very gratifying to the founder, for he came, he said, into the charge of the province "for the Lord's sake. He hoped, under the Divine aid, to have raised up a people who should have been a praise in the earth for conduct, as well as for civil and religious liberty." He said, "I wanted to afford an asylum to the good and oppressed of every nation. I aimed to frame a government which might be an example. I desired to show men as free and happy as they could be."

What a beautiful example he set before our Revolutionary fathers! and to their everlasting credit may it be remembered that they had wisdom and goodness sufficient to act upon it, and did really contribute not only to make the land of Penn an asylum to the good and oppressed of every nation, but extended the noble cognomen over all the territory of the United States, and the identical idea William Penn expressed near two hundred years ago, is now the most glorious name our beloved country is known by throughout the earth, viz.: "The Asylum to the Good and Oppressed of every Nation." Will the beneficiaries have wisdom and goodness sufficient to perpetuate it?

He planned the city of Philadelphia and named it, and

in two years it contained 2000 inhabitants. He remained in America about two years, in which time he succeeded in establishing his laws and inculcating a spirit of love and harmony not only among the various sects and denominations that had arrived from Europe, but even with the Indians, and all things being in a prosperous condition he returned, arriving in England on the 12th of the 6th month, (August,) 1684.

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## CHAPTER IV.

"Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth him out of them all."—*Psalm* xxxiv. 19.

On Friday, the 6th day of the 12th month following, (February,) 1685, King Charles the Second died, and was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of York, by the name of King James the Second, who being a professed papist, his accession to the crown filled the people with just apprehensions and fears lest he should establish his own religion by the destruction of others; and had William Penn at that time fomented the general uneasiness by encouraging multitudes then upon the wing, he might, as he himself said, have put many thousands of people into his province and £2000 into his pockets. His not doing it, is sufficient proof that it was not wealth or fame that first brought him to America.

Because James the Second, who was a Catholic, esteemed him highly, treating him with marked respect and attention, his enemies fabricated the charge of papist against him, notwithstanding he had been so bold against that persuasion. He, however, soon silenced them and continued his labours of love—preaching, travelling, and writing. Among his writings was a persuasion to moderation toward

dissenting Christians, in prudence and conscience, which he humbly submitted to the king and his great council, in which he confutes the several plans for persecution, and confirms his own argument for *toleration* by the testimony of eminent authors and the examples of flourishing kingdoms and states, and shows the dismal effects of the contrary. A treatise well worthy the reader's serious perusal.

On the 14th of March, 1685–6, came forth the king's proclamation for a general pardon, and instructions being given to the judges of assizes in their several circuits to extend the benefit of it to the *Quakers;* about thirteen hundred of that persuasion, many of whom had been imprisoned for years, were set at liberty. On the 4th of April, 1687, the king issued a declaration for liberty of conscience, suspending the execution of all penal laws in ecclesiastical matters.

This was followed by an address of thanks to the king from the annual Assembly of Friends held in London, who deputed William Penn and others to present it. On the 27th of April, 1688, King James renewed his declaration for liberty of conscience, with an order of council for the reading of it in churches, against which seven bishops petitioning were committed to the Tower. On the 5th of November, 1688, William, Prince of Orange, landed at Torbay, in Devonshire, to the great joy of the English nation. James the Second withdrew to France, and on the 13th of February, 1688–9, William and his spouse, Mary, King James's daughter, were proclaimed King and Queen of England, &c. Of this change the enemies of William Penn took advantage, charging him with disaffection to the present government, and had him arrested on the 10th of December, 1688. Nothing was proved against him, yet his strong assurances failed to convince the council that he loved his country and the Protestant religion above his life, and they obliged him to give sureties for his appearance the first day of the next term, which he did, and then was con-

tinued on the same security to Easter term following, on the last day of which, nothing having been laid to his charge, he was cleared in open court.

In the year 1690 he was again brought before the lords of the council, upon an accusation of holding correspondence with the late King James, and they requiring sureties for his appearance, he appealed to King William himself, who after a conference of near two hours inclined to acquit him; but to please some of the council he was held upon bail for a while, and in Trinity term the same year again discharged.

He was attacked a third time, and his name inserted in a proclamation, dated July 18th, wherein he, with divers lords and others, to the number of eighteen, were charged with adhering to the enemies of the king; but proof failing respecting him, he was again cleared by order of the king's bench court at Westminster, on the last day of Michaelmas term, 1690.

Being now at liberty, he proposed visiting Pennsylvania the second time, and published printed proposals for another settlement there. He had so far prepared for his transportation that an order for the convoy was granted him by the secretary of state, when his voyage was prevented by a fresh accusation against him, backed by the oath of one William Fuller,—a WRETCH, afterward by Parliament declared a CHEAT and IMPOSTOR,—and a warrant was thereupon granted for his apprehension, which he narrowly escaped at his return from G. Fox's burial, on the 16th of January, 1691. He prudently retired for a few years, during which time he applied himself to writing, and on the 30th of the 3d month, (May,) 1691, addressed the following epistle to the yearly meeting in London:—

My beloved, dear, and honoured Brethren:—

My unchangeable love salutes you; and though I am absent from you, yet I feel the sweet and lowly life of your

heavenly fellowship, by which I am with you and a partaker amongst you, whom I have loved above my chiefest joy. Receive no evil surmisings, neither suffer hard thoughts, through the insinuations of any, to enter your minds against me, your afflicted but not forsaken friend and brother. My enemies are yours, and in the ground mine for your sakes, and that God seeth in secret, and will one day reward openly. My privacy is not because men have sworn truly, but falsely against me. For wicked men have laid in wait for me, and false witnesses have laid to my charge things that I knew not, who have never sought myself, but the good of all, through great exercises, and have done some good, and would have done more, and hurt no man, but always desired that truth and righteousness, mercy and peace, might take place amongst us. Feel me near you, and lay me near you, dear and beloved brethren, and leave me not; neither forsake, but wrestle with Him that is able to prevail against the cruel desires of some, that we may yet meet in the congregations of his people, as in days past, to our mutual comfort. The everlasting God of his chosen in all generations be in the midst of you, and crown your most solemn assemblies with his blessed presence, that his tender, meek, lowly, and heavenly love and life may flow among you; and that he would please to make it a seasoning and fruitful opportunity for you, that, edified and comforted, you may return home to his glorious high praise, who is worthy forever! To whom I commit you, desiring to be remembered of you before him, in the nearest and freshest accesses, who cannot forget you in the nearest relation.

Your faithful friend and brother,

WILLIAM PENN.

By the interposition of friends, he was granted an audience with the king and council, in the latter part of 1693, when he established his innocency and was acquitted. The

sad and melancholy bereavement which now awaited him is thus recorded by himself:—

"My dear wife, after eight months' illness, (though she never perfectly recovered her weakness the year before, which held her about six months,) departed this life on the 23d of the 12th month, 1693–4, about half an hour past two in the afternoon, being the sixth day of the week, and in the fiftieth year of her age, and was sensible to the very last." Her maiden name was Gulielma Maria Springett, the step-daughter of Isaac Pennington, a ministering Friend. They had lived in the most happy manner in the holy estate of wedlock about twenty years. He bears ample testimony to her happy exit from time to eternity. He now continued to write, preach, and travel, not, however, escaping arrests and other hinderances.

On the 5th of the 1st month, (March,) 1695–6, he consummated his second marriage, at Bristol, with Hannah, the daughter of Thomas Callowhill, with whom he lived during the remainder of his life, and by whom he had four sons and one daughter.

In April, 1696, his eldest son by his first wife died; his name was Springett, aged twenty-one years. "This year he published a treatise, entitled, Primitive Christianity Revived, in the Faith and Practice of the People called Quakers. A book which rightly represented that people's principles, and hath been serviceable to the information of many." This is the book I now reprint, with the hope that it may prove serviceable to the information of many more.

On the 9th day of September, 1699, himself and family set sail for his province of Pennsylvania. They were nearly three months at sea; the great length of the voyage saved them from the danger of a contagious disease, the yellow fever, that reigned in the province. When they arrived it was over, and they were received with the universal joy of

the inhabitants. Intending to remain in the province, he gave attention to all of its interests. But immediately some persons in England, taking advantage of his absence, endeavoured to undermine the proprietary governments. Representations were soon made to the Parliament, and time solicited for his return to answer for himself. He was pressed to return forthwith; seeing it necessary to comply, he summoned an assembly to meet at Philadelphia, to whom, on the 15th of September, 1701, he made a speech, setting forth the condition of the province, the necessity of his return to England, the great and abiding interest he felt in their welfare, tendering them his aid to secure their privileges and property in any and every way in his power that they might suggest. To which he received the following reply:

*May it please the Proprietary and Governor:—*

We have this day in our assembly read thy speech delivered (yesterday) in council; and having duly considered the same, cannot but be under a deep sense of sorrow for thy purpose of so speedily leaving us, and at the same time taking notice of thy parental regard to us and to our posterity, the freeholders of this province and territories annexed, in thy loving and kind expressions of being ready to comply with whatsoever expedient and provisions we shall offer for our safety as well in privileges as property, and what else may render us happy in a nearer union of our interests, not doubting the performance of what thou hast been solemnly pleased to promise, do in much humility, and as a token of our gratitude, return unto thee the unfeigned thanks of this house. Subscribed by order of the House,

JOSEPH GROWDON, *Speaker.*

The next month, October, he sailed for England, and arrived about the middle of December at Portsmouth and proceeded to London. After his return the bill was wholly

dropped, and never revived. Upon the death of King William, which occurred on the 8th of March, 1701–2, the Princess Anne of Denmark ascended the throne. She began her reign with moderation and clemency, maintaining the Act of Toleration. William Penn was in her favour, and often at court. He continued to preach, and write, and travel, until about the year 1709, when the infirmities of age began to visit him.

In 1710, he, for a better atmosphere, left the vicinity of London, and took a handsome seat at Ruscombe, near Troyford, in Buckinghamshire, where he resided until his death. In 1712, he had three several fits, supposed to be apoplectic, by which his understanding and memory were so impaired as to render him incapable of public action for the future. He continued to fail by degrees for the space of about six years, until, the 30th of the fifth month, (July,) 1718, in the 74th year of his age, his soul, prepared for a more glorious habitation, forsook the decayed tenement, which was committed to the earth on the 5th of the 6th month, at St. Jordan's, in Buckinghamshire, where his former wife and several of his family had been buried.

### CHARACTER OF WILLIAM PENN—BY EDMUND BURKE.

William Penn, as a legislator, deserves great honour among mankind. He created a commonwealth which, from a few hundreds of indigent refugees, have in seventy years grown to a numerous and flourishing people. A people who from a wilderness have brought their territory to a state of high cultivation, filled it with wealthy and populous towns, and who, in the midst of a fierce and lawless race of men, have preserved themselves, with unarmed hand, by the rules of justice and MODERATION, better than any other have done by *policy* and *arms*. The way in which he did this deserves eternal notice. Though brought up, as it were, in the corrupt courts of Charles the Second, who had en-

deavoured to carry the kingly prerogative to as high a pitch of aristocracy as possible, yet, oh, glorious! oh, all-subduing power of REASON! when he got *that*, he thought of nothing but to make everybody happy. To take the lands from the Indians he abhorred; he bought their lands. To exact and starve the poor who followed him across the ocean for conscience and quiet sake, he could not brook. He put the lands at the low rate of forty shillings a hundred acres, and one shilling per hundred acres yearly quit-rent. But what crowned all, was the noble character of privileges by which he made them more free, perhaps, than any people on earth; and which, by securing both civil and religious liberty, caused the eyes of the oppressed from all parts of the world to look to his country for relief. This one act of godlike wisdom and goodness has settled Penn's country in a more strong and permanent manner than the wisest regulations could have done on any other plan. A man has but to believe there *is a God;* that he is the inspector of our actions, and the future rewarder and punisher of good and ill, and he is not only tolerated, but, if possessed of talents and integrity, is on the road to a place.

This great and good man lived to see an extensive country rescued from the wilderness and filled with a free and flourishing people; he lived to lay the foundation of a splendid and wealthy city; he lived to see it promise every thing, from the situation he himself had chosen and from the encouragement which he himself had given it; he lived to see all this, but he died in the Fleet prison! [*A mistake.*]

'Tis pleasing to do honour to those great men whose virtues and generosity have contributed to the peopling of the earth and to the freedom and happiness of mankind; who have preferred the interest of a remote posterity, and times unknown, to their own fortune and to the quiet and security of their own lives. Now both Britain and America reap just benefit from his labours and his losses; and his pos-

terity have a vast estate out of the quit-rents of that very province whose establishment was the ruin of their predecessor's fortune.

MONTESQUIEU, ON PENN.

"A character so extraordinary in the institutions of Greece, has shown itself lately in the dregs and corruption of modern times. A very honest legislator has formed a people to whom probity seems as natural as bravery to the Spartans. William Penn is a real Lycurgus; and though the former made peace his principal aim, as the latter did war, yet they resemble one another in the singular way of living to which they reduced their people—in the ascendent they gained over freemen, in the prejudices they overcame, and in the passions they subdued."

CHARACTER OF WILLIAM PENN—BY DR. MARSILLAC,
*Deputy Extraordinary from the Quakers in France to the National Assembly*, 1791

"After so many acts of violence and oppression, so many robberies and murders committed by the Europeans in the New World, the heart finds some consolation in pausing over the part which William Penn acted there. In an age when savage Europe put to death so many innocent people merely because they could not embrace the faith of their sovereigns, and spread over so large a part of America those horrors of fire and sword at which nature revolts, William Penn, like an angel from heaven, presented the olive-branch to those afflicted people, and, by acts of godlike justice, not only restored tranquillity to their ravaged quarters, but laid the foundation of extensive liberty and happiness.

"He was perhaps the first who ever built one of the fairest empires of the world on the sole basis of general good, and, by assuring universal toleration and community of rights, offered a happy asylum to persecuted innocence

throughout the earth. There are but few sections of the American continent that have not been drenched with human blood; and to their eternal shame it was the enlightened and polished Europeans who did this, and who murdered by thousands the poor harmless natives, who received them with hospitality! and then to extenuate their guilt, they branded those as *savages* whom they had so barbarously slaughtered. The arrival of William Penn put a stop to those frightful enormities. His godlike humanity to these oppressed people—treating them as brothers, buying their lands and heaping them with favours, melted their simple natures with gratitude and affection. Astonished to see a *white man* who was good, and abhorred injustice and bloodshed, they revered him as something more than man, and gloried in calling him 'Father.'

"Of all the Europeans who have mitigated the ills of life and the fury of religious persecution, William Penn most deserves the gratitude of posterity. His first act in America held up a lovely presage of the prosperity that was to follow. And in his unyielding efforts to shield the oppressed, he looks like Moses, followed by a host of religious friends, whom he conducted across the wilderness of waves to a new 'land of promise,' flowing with the *milk and honey* of freedom, peace, and plenty.

"Abhorring persecution, as the direst reproach and scourge of mankind, he resolved effectually to bar the door against it. Hence that sublime charter of his, guaranteeing the most perfect liberty of conscience to all the honest worshippers of God, no matter what their opinions and forms. Instantly crowds of persons, oppressed in their own country because of religion, embarked for the country of William Penn. Then shone forth that divine philosophy 'Love thy neighbour as thyself,' in the blessed fruits resulting from it; for, while among the antichrists of Europe, the popes and bishops, nothing was heard but cries

and groans from the inquisitions and dungeons; nothing talked of but sales of property belonging to heretics and dissenters; nothing seen but marks of deadly hate between the oppressing and oppressed churches; in good William Penn's country, glory to God, you met with no spectacles of this sort; but, on the contrary, every thing to sparkle the eye of charity with pleasure. There you saw worshippers of a hundred different sects, moving along the streets to their several churches, in the most perfect peace and harmony; there, whether Jews or Christians, Catholics or Protestants, all adored God in the way they thought most rational; and, meeting with no persecution themselves, they felt no temptation to persecute others. Every poor emigrant to Pennsylvania was welcome as an exile from his native land; and, having no country or family of his own, he found in William Penn a tender and generous father.

"The most virtuous of men was the honoured instrument of blessings to thousands of the unfortunate; and his institutions have laid the imperishable foundations of a new empire, which shines like a star in the west, and whose rays have already begun to open the eyes of Europe.

"Having held the reins of government no longer than was necessary for the good of his province, he mixed among his people as only one of their number, and despising on the one hand all the pomps of the falsely great, and filling up life, on the other, with the most beneficent labours, he came to the grave in a good old age, eulogized by the greatest philosophers, honoured above the proudest kings, and to this day revered by the Indians, as a benevolent spirit sent down from heaven to establish the reign of peace and happiness on earth."

## CHAPTER V.

### "THE MACAULAY CHARGES."*

In this supplementary chapter I propose to review the charges made against William Penn by Whig historians, and adopted, with novelties and exaggerations of his own, by Mr. Macaulay in his recent history. The reader who has traced his career from Tower Hill to the graveyard at Jordans, may hardly care to read what follows; the simple record of his life being the most emphatic answer that can be given to party misrepresentation; but I believe there are some who will look for a more formal refutation of these charges at my hands, and for their satisfaction I enter into the several points of controversy which have been raised. Every one is conscious of the animus which pervades the last Whig history. To point out the capricious likes and dislikes of the historian would be tedious, and is unnecessary: at the same time I will not deny that his page is alive with pictures, and that the narrative possesses a unity and vehemence which render it one of the most useful additions to our store of historical reading since the appearance of the Scotch novels.

Mr. Macaulay has written several volumes of history and criticism. He must be aware that one of the fundamental laws of Critical Inquiry demands, that when a fact or a character has stood the tests of time, and in the progress of opinion has attained to something like a fixed position in the historical system, the evidence in support of any assault on it must be strong and free from taint in some fair proportion to the length of time and strength of opinion on which it rests.

* From Dixon's Life of Penn.

This rule is deeply based in human nature. The fixity of historical ideas is, in other words, the permanence of truth. Once a great historical verdict is passed, the noblest instincts of our being prompt us to guard it as something sacred,—to be set aside only after scrupulous inquiry and conclusive evidence against its justice. The wise man will not rashly disturb the repose of ages. Our faith in history is akin to religion: it is a confidence in our power to separate good from evil—truth from falsehood,—to preserve in their native purity the wisdom which serves to guide, and the memories which inspire the best actions of mankind. Mr. Macaulay will not deny the reasonableness of a rule growing out of such a feeling. He would himself exact the strongest facts and the severest logic from the man who should presume to dispute the laws of Kepler; and the fullest and most unquestionable evidence would be required in support of an assertion that Milton was a debauchee, or Buckingham a man of virtue.

I will apply this canon to his own method. That I may not incur the charge of improperly assuming that Penn's reputation was thus historically fixed, I will cite Mr. Macaulay's own reading of the verdict which more than a century and a half has ratified. "Rival nations," he says, "have agreed in canonizing him. England is proud of his name. A great commonwealth beyond the Atlantic regards him with a reverence similar to that which the Athenians felt for Theseus, and the Romans for Quirinus. The respectable society of which he was a member honours him as an apostle. By pious men of other persuasions he is generally regarded as a bright pattern of Christian virtue. Meanwhile, admirers of a very different sort have sounded his praises. The French philosophers of the eighteenth century pardoned what they regarded as his superstitious fancies in consideration of his contempt for priests, and of his cosmopolitan benevolence, impartially extended to all races

and all creeds. His name has thus become, throughout all civilized countries, a synonym for polity and philanthropy."

This general verdict Mr. Macaulay challenges. He admits that his attempt "requires some courage;" I think the reader will agree with him, when the evidence is adduced on which his challenge is supported. This evidence consists of five assertions: (I.) That his connection with the court in 1684, while he lived at Kensington, caused his own sect to look coldly on him and even treat him with obloquy. (II.) That he "extorted money" from the girls of Taunton for the maids of honour. (III.) That he allowed himself to be employed in the work of seducing Kiffin into a compliance with court designs. (IV.) That he endeavoured to gain William's assent to the promulgated edict suspending the penal laws. (V.) That he "did his best to seduce" the Magdalen collegians "from the path of right," and was "a broker in simony of a peculiarly discreditable kind."

These allegations I shall examine in the order in which they occur.

I. I quote Mr. Macaulay's own words. "He was soon surrounded by flatterers and suppliants. His house at Kensington was sometimes thronged at his hour of rising by more than two hundred suitors. He paid dear, however, for this seeming prosperity. Even his own sect looked coldly on him and requited his services with obloquy." His only authority for this statement is Gerard Croese, (Hist. Qua. lib. ii. 1695,) a Dutchman, who never was in England in his life, and whose work the Society of Friends has never recognised. Croese could have no trustworthy knowledge of the opinions of the Quakers, and no right to represent their opinions. The statement is not, however, merely unsupported; but it is positively contradicted by the Devonshire House Records. These prove that at this time Penn was in regular attendance at the monthly meetings, and was elected to the highest offices in the body.

II. That the reader may understand the Taunton affair, I must point out the features, with more exactness than Mr. Macaulay has done, which relate to his charge against Penn. When Monmouth arrived at Taunton, he found that the town had pledged itself to the rebellion, by the signal act of having had wrought, at the public expense, a set of royal standards for him and his army, by the daughters of the principal families. The ceremony of presenting these standards was one of the most important acts of the rebellion; at the head of her procession the schoolmistress carried the emblems of royal power—the Bible and the sword;* and the royal banner was presented to the duke as to their sovereign. Thereupon he assumed the name of King—set a price on his uncle's head—and proclaimed the Parliament then sitting a treasonable convention, to be pursued with war and destruction.† This insanity cost Monmouth his head, and won a gibbet for hundreds of his followers. The case of the maidens was not different to that of many others. They had taken, with their parents' knowledge, a prominent part in the rebellion; and when the day of vengeance came, they stood before the law guilty of a crime for which the sentence was—death. The idea of sending them to the scaffold for faults which were their parents' more than their own, was of course not thought of; but that the parents might not escape punishment, the power to pardon them was given by the king to the maids of honour,—not likely, I must suppose, to be the most exacting of creditors,—as a sort of fee or bounty. It is to be remembered the sale of pardons was in that age a regular profession; from the king—at least in Charles's time—to the link-boy or the porter at

* Mr. Macaulay forgets the sword, because Sir James Mackintosh had forgotten it.

† Though very fond of strong language, Mr. Macaulay softens these harsh words into simple "illegal assembly"! his evident object being to make the after-vengeance appear unprovoked.

his gates, almost every man and woman connected with the court regularly sold his or her influence. The young girls about the Queen, daughters, be it remembered, of the first families in the land, had no proper conception of the horrid wickedness of this brokerage; and they requested the Duke of Somerset to get the affair arranged for them on the best terms. Somerset wrote to Sir Francis Warre, the member for Bridgewater, asking him as a personal favour to see the parents, as being a neighbour and likely to be known to them, or to name some proper agent who might arrange the business. Warre had evidently no wish to be mixed up with an affair of this kind; and he replied that it was already in proper hands, those of one Bird, the town-clerk. For some unknown reason the maids of honour forbade this agent to proceed in their behalf, and Warre was again applied to; but he refused to name a broker on the spot, excusing himself on the pleas that the schoolmistress was a woman of mean birth, and the young ladies were acting at the time under her orders. Weeks elapsed, and no settlement was made by the parents; nor do we know—except by inference—what was done in the matter at court, until the following letter was written :—

"WHITEHALL, Feb. 13th, 1685-6.

"MR. PENNE :—Her Maj^ties Maids of Honour having acquainted me that they designe to employ you and Mr. Waldon in making a composition with the Relations of the Maids of Taunton for the high Misdemeanour they have been guilty of, I do at their request hereby let you know that His* Maj^ty has been pleased to give their Fines to the said Maids of Honour, and therefore recommend it to Mr. Walden and you to make the most advantageous composition you can in their behalfe. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

"SUNDERLAND P."

* In transcribing this letter from the State Papers, Mr. Forster writes "her" maj^ty,—a mistake which gives an erroneous countenance to Mr. Macaulay's "scandal against Queen" Maria.

To whom was this letter addressed? Sir James Macintosh, the first man who brought the letter to light,—for Mr. Macaulay has not even the merit of originality in his errors,—*assumed* that it was addressed to William Penn; and in this singular assumption he has been followed by his friend and admirer. But Macintosh went still further: he not only assumed, without warrant, that a letter addressed to a "Mr. Penne" to engage him in a "scandalous transaction" was addressed to the Governor of Pennsylvania; but he also dared, in defiance of every rule of historical criticism, to assume that William Penn *accepted* the commission that was so offered. Mr. Macaulay, of course, copied this gross mistake from Sir James, and gave it the additional currency of his own volumes. This point is particularly noticeable,—that Mr. Macaulay did not consult the original authorities, but satisfied himself with merely quoting from the "Macintosh collection." Now this letter was certainly *not* addressed to William Penn. (1.) In the first place, it does not bear his name: he never wrote his name "Penne," nor did others ever so write it. In the Pennsylvania correspondence, in the Minutes of the Privy Council, and in the letters of Van Citters, Locke, Lawton, Bailey, Creech, and Hunt, and in the correspondence of his private friends, I have seen it written hundreds of times, but never once, even by accident, with an *e* final. Least of all men could Sunderland, his intimate acquaintance from boyhood, make such a mistake. (2.) The letter is highly disrespectful, if supposed to be written to a man of his rank—a man who had refused a peerage, and who stood before the court not only as a personal friend to the king, but as Lord Proprietor of the largest province in America; the more especially would this be the case when it is considered that the letter was written by the polite and diplomatic Earl of Sunderland. (3.) The work to be done required a low, trafficking agent, who could go down to Taunton and stay there until the business was

concluded: it is obvious that this could not be done by William Penn. (4.) The letter is evidently a reply to an offer of service: the maids of honour "designe to employ" Mr. Penne and Mr. Walden, because, as it seems to me, they had applied for the office. Malice itself would shrink from the assumption that the governor of Pennsylvania would voluntarily solicit such an employment. (5.) It is contrary to every thing else that is known of Penn that he would allow himself, on any pretence, to be drawn into such a business. (6.) No mention of it occurs in any of his letters: I have read some hundreds of them, and, although he was the most communicative of correspondents, not a trace of his action, or of his having been applied to in the affair, is to be found. Knowing his epistolary habit, this fact alone would have satisfied my own mind. (7.) No mention has been made of his interference by any news-writer, pamphleteer, or historian,—though, had he been concerned, the host of maligners, who rose against him on the flight of James, could certainly not have failed to point their sarcasms with the "scandalous transaction" and "extortion of money." (8.) No tradition of his appearance on the scene is preserved in the neighbourhood; when, had he really been the agent employed, it is impossible that so conspicuous a broker could have faded so soon from local recollection.

But, if William Penn were not the "Mr. Penne" addressed by Lord Sunderland, and designed by the ladies to be employed in their behalf—who was the man? A little research enables me to answer this question. In the registers of the Privy Council I find this entry:—

"Nov. 25th, 1687.

"GEORGE PENNE—Upon reading the petition of George Penne, gent., setting forth that his family having been great sufferers for their loyalty, He humbly begs that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to grant him a patent for

the sole exercising the royal Oake lottery, and licensing all other games, in his Majesty's plantations in America, for twenty-one years. His Majesty in Council is pleased to refer this matter to the consideration of the Rt. Hon. the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and, upon what their lordships report of what is fit to be done therein for the petitioner, His Majesty will declare his further pleasure."

This man, whose fitting reward, according to his own estimate of the value of his services, was the fief of a gaming-table, was the Mr. Penne. *His* name is always spelt with the final *e*. In the first draft of the foregoing minute, the clerk had spelt the name George Penn, both in the margin and in the text, but has filled the final letter in afterwards, as if prophetically guarding against any confusion of this wretched fellow with the great governor of Pennsylvania. He was a low hanger-on about the back-doors of the court, ready for any dirty work. When pardons were to be bought and sold, he was a pardon-broker. He was actively engaged in the Taunton affair; and among other feats, as I am able to state on the authority of a family-cash book still preserved, he obtained 65*l.* from Nathaniel Pinney as the ransom of his brother Azariah Pinney, one of the transported rebels. Mr. Walden was apparently an agent of the same kind, and equally and deservedly obscure. For some reason, however, the "designe to employ" these men miscarried, and the maids of honour found another agent in the person of Brent, the Popish lawyer, who was a regular pardon-broker, and was arrested on the flight of King James, as I find by the minutes of Privy Council. This fellow employed as great a rascal as himself, one Crane of Bridgewater, as his sub-agent, and between them they settled the business, as Oldmixon relates.

Having cleared Penn from this foul and unfounded charge, let me say a word or two in behalf of the maids of honour.

Mr. Macaulay says they "were at last forced to be content with less than a third" of 7000*l.* How much less? Is there any evidence that they received a single guinea? Dr. Toulmin collected his information from the families of the girls of Taunton, at a time when the children of the little rebels might have been still alive, and he says merely that some of the parents paid as much as fifty or a hundred pounds. Some of them? Oldmixon tells us that the number of the scholars was twenty. How many of twenty could be called some? Take it at ten; if pardons were purchased for ten, five at 50*l.* and five at 100*l.*, this would but yield 750*l.* altogether. Besides which Oldmixon, who had peculiar means of learning the real facts, says the agent and his subordinate paid themselves bountifully out of the money. I know of no proof that the maids of honour got a shilling.

While on this digression, I may add a remark in behalf of another much-abused lady. The historian counts up with virtuous indignation the number of transported insurgents which the Queen, Maria d'Este, selected for her private portion of the spoil, and talks of "the thousand pounds" which she made by "her unprincely greediness and her unwomanly cruelty." Now we not only do not know how much, if any thing at all, the Queen put into her pocket, but we do not know for certain that she received for herself a single transport. We have no good reason to believe that she ever dreamt of such a thing. The only ground for this gross charge against the honour of a woman and a foreigner, is a letter of Sunderland to Lord Jeffreys—which Mr. Macaulay, as usual, has copied from the "Macintosh Collection,"—in which that statesman, after giving a list of grants of prisoners to various persons about the court, adds in a postscript—"The Queen has asked for a hundred more of the rebels who are to be transported; as soon as I know for whom, you shall hear from me again." It is clear enough from Sunderland's words that she did *not* ask them for her-

self. It is equally clear that Mr. Macaulay's estimate of "the profits she cleared on the cargo, after making large allowance for those who died of hunger and fever during the passage," is a mere invention. The misfortunes of this woman should have shielded her from injustice.

III. Towards the close of his reign, when the churchmen openly repudiated their own doctrine of passive obedience, James became anxious to secure the adhesion of his dissenting subjects; and among other leading men, he selected Penn's old opponent, William Kiffin, the Baptist, for a city magistracy. But two of Kiffin's grandsons had been taken and executed in the Western rebellion, and it was doubted whether the old man would comply with the wishes of the court. At this point Mr. Macaulay introduces Penn. "The heartless and venal sycophants of Whitehall, judging by themselves, thought that the old man would be easily propitiated by an alderman's gown, and by some compensation in money, for the property which his grandsons had forfeited. Penn was employed in the work of seduction, but to no purpose." Now, there is not the slightest foundation in history for this statement. Mr. Macaulay here asserts that Penn was "employed," by the "heartless and venal sycophants" of the court, to seduce Kiffin into an acceptance of the alderman's gown,—and that he failed. The passage means this, or it means nothing. It will be allowed that on such a point Kiffin himself must be the best authority: in his autobiography, lately published from the original manuscript, he says,—"In a little after, a great temptation attended me, which was a commission from the King, to be one of the aldermen of the city of London; which, as soon as I heard of it, I used all the diligence I could, to be excused, both by some lords near the King, and also by Sir Nicholas Butler and Mr. Penn. But it was all in vain." This is just the reverse of what Mr. Macaulay states. Penn did not go to Kiffin; Kiffin went to Penn. Instead of be-

ing employed in the work of seduction, he was engaged in the task of intercession. Mr. Macauley makes Kiffin refuse the magistracy: Kiffin says he accepted it:—"The next court-day I came to the court, and took upon me the office of alderman."

IV. A little attention to dates will soon dispose of the fourth charge against Penn. Mr. Macaulay writes—"All men were anxious to know what he [the Prince of Orange] thought of the Declaration of Indulgence. . . . Penn sent copious disquisitions to the Hague, and even went thither in the hope that his eloquence, of which he had a high opinion, would prove irresistible." Now, Penn returned from Germany in the autumn of 1686, and the Declaration was not issued until April, 1687. After 1686, he never went to the Dutch capital. There is no evidence, even, that Penn sent over "copious disquisitions;" Burnet, Mr. Macaulay's authority, says not a word on such a subject. When Penn was at the Hague, in the summer of 1686, the subject that was under discussion related to the Tests, not the Indulgence. The Declaration was unthought of at that time;—Burnet is very clear on this point. But there is other proof that Mr. Macaulay's guesswork is wrong. In November, 1686, five months before the Declaration was issued, Van Citters reported to his correspondent the substance of the conversation between Penn and the Prince, as it was then known in court circles in London; and in that report no mention whatever is made of the Declaration.

V. In the ninth chapter of the preceding memoir, I have given the true history of Penn's connection with the affair of Magdalen College. In this place I shall content myself with a special refutation of Mr. Macaulay's errors; first quoting his material passages, and numbering them for separate remark. (1) "Penn was at Chester, on a pastoral tour. His popularity and authority among his brethren had greatly declined (2) since he had become a tool of

the King and the Jesuits." . . . (3) "Perhaps the college might still be terrified, caressed, or bribed into submission. The agency of Penn was employed." . . . (4) "The courtly Quaker, therefore, did his best to seduce the college from the path of right." . . . (5) "To such a degree had his manners been corrupted by evil communications, and his understanding obscured by inordinate zeal for a single object, that he did not scruple to become a broker in simony of a peculiarly discreditable kind, and to use a bishopric as a bait to tempt a divine to perjury." These assertions may be looked at, one by one, as they stand here. (1) Had Penn become in 1687—the date of Mr. Macaulay's authority—unpopular and powerless with his brethren? There is, fortunately, better evidence than that of an agent of Louis Quatorze: the evidence of the "brethren" themselves. The Records at Devonshire House prove that his influence was high as ever in the society of Friends: he was elected to speak their sentiments; he served their most important offices; was in accord with Fox, Crisp, and the other leaders; and at the very moment when Mr. Macaulay introduces him with this disparaging comment, he was on a religious tour, one of the most popular and brilliant of his public ministry. To this may be added the testimony of Penn himself; in one of his letters he expressly says that it is at the joint request of the Society of Friends, and of persons in authority, that he is engaged in the business of the nation. (2) Was he ever "a tool of the King and of the Jesuits?" No man, I venture to believe, will entertain a doubt on this point, after reading the ninth chapter of these memoirs, and the authorities there cited. Family experiences had given him an early abhorrence of the persecuting spirit of the Roman Church. In his youth he had written against the errors of Popery, and in his riper age had pointed many a sentence with honest indignation at Jesuit morals.

Now that the Jesuits had acquired power at court, he continually hazarded his influence by urging the King to banish them from the royal presence. Citters, Johnstone, and Clarendon, all testify clearly to this effect. The Dutch diplomatist says, "Penn has had a long interview with the King, and has, he thinks, shown to the King that Parliament will not consent to a revocation of the Test and Penal Laws—and that he never will get a Parliament to his mind, so long as he will not adopt moderate councils, and drive away from his presence the immoderate Jesuits, and other Papists who surround him daily, and whose ultra councils he now follows." Johnstone says expressly, that Penn was against the order commanding the Declaration to be read in the churches. Clarendon says in his Diary that Penn "laboured to thwart the Jesuitical influence that predominated." On what authority, then, does Mr. Macaulay make his assertion? Simply on his own! Was he a tool of the King? The idea is absurd. He never sacrificed a point to the humour of James; but he often crossed that humour, and his political action was always against the court. Not to go so far back as the days of Sidney, when, according to Barillon, he divided the leadership of the most advanced body of Reformers with that great Republican,—if his private friendship was given to Sunderland, Halifax, and Rochester, his political sympathy was always with the more liberal men of the opposition. The supporters of Monmouth looked to him and half a dozen others to bring over the American colonies to the cause of liberty and Protestantism. Though he was trusted by James, he was always an object of suspicion to his government. He plainly told the King of his errors; he advised him to expel the Jesuits from Whitehall; not to trust to his prerogative, but to meet his Parliament with wise and just proposals; not to insist on having the Declaration read by the clergy; not to commit the seven Prelates to the Tower. And when that impolitic

act had been committed, he advised him to take the gracious opportunity afforded by the birth of a Prince of Wales to set them at liberty, and still further to signalize the occasion by a general amnesty to the exiles in Holland. He counselled him to submit to the will of the nation, and to be content with a simple toleration of his religion. Can this man be called a "tool" of the King? Let Mr. Macaulay show another man in that age with equal boldness and integrity. He braved the royal frowns again and again in the cause of mercy. He obtained a pardon for Locke, another for Trenchard, another for Aaron Smith—all of them men who had deeply offended James. He compelled him to listen to the councils of the leading Whigs; and in the Oxford affair told him he was in the wrong in plainer language than the usages of speech would permit to ordinary men. This man a tool! (3) Was the agency of Penn employed to terrify, caress, or bribe the collegians into submission? There is not even a shadow of authority for this most uncharitable assertion. Penn was alarmed at the quarrel, fearing it might lead, through the combined obstinacy of the King and Fellows, to a loss of the College Charter, and a transfer of its immense revenues to the Papists—and he interposed his good offices to heal the wound. Instead of looking on him as a person "employed" to terrify, caress, or bribe them into submission, we have the evidence of Dr. Bailey, one of the inculpated Fellows, and that of Thomas Creech, a student, that the collegians regarded him as a friend and mediator "in their behalf." (4) Did he "do his best to seduce the college from the path of right?" Mr. Macaulay's knowledge of the proceeding appears to be derived from "Wilmot's Life of Hough"—though he does not quote it—and from the "State Trials." To these sources of information must be added the MS. letters of Dr. Sykes and Mr. Creech, preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the MS. papers of George Hunt, now in the pos-

session of the President of Magdalen College. Hunt was one of the Fellows, and was present at the interview with Penn; Sykes and Creech were both of them well informed as to all the incidents which occurred; yet so far is either he, or are they, from saying that he attempted to "seduce them from the path of right," that they agree exactly in the emphatic and conclusive statement that, after hearing their reasons, he agreed with them that they were justified in their resistance. He even went further; he became their champion. In their presence he wrote a manly English letter to his sovereign, in which he told him in very plain terms—"that their case was hard; that in their circumstances they could not yield without a breach of their oaths; and that such mandates were a force on conscience, and not agreeable to the King's other gracious indulgences." How singularly unfortunate is Mr. Macaulay in his authorities! "Penn," he says, "exhorted the Fellows not to rely on the goodness of their cause, but to submit, or at least to temporize." I defy Mr. Macaulay to give any trustworthy authority for this macchiavellian council. He wisely abstains from quoting his author; but the curious reader will find it in the twelfth volume of the "State Trials," in the shape of an anonymous letter which was addressed by some unknown person, during the heat of the dispute, to Dr. Bailey, one of the Fellows. Bailey, "from the charitable purpose" of the letter, thought it might have come from Penn; and to ascertain the fact, wrote a reply to Penn without signing his name, saying that if he *were* his anonymous correspondent, he would know how to address his answer. Of course no reply came. No man conversant with Penn's habit of writing could for an instant mistake it for his; it commences, "Sir,"—and the second person plural is used throughout. Nor is this all the evidence against its being written by Penn. The contemporary account of these proceedings has written, in Hunt's hand, on the margin of

this letter, the words—"This letter Mr. Penn disowned." Yet it is on the assumption that Penn actually wrote this thrice-proven spurious epistle, that Mr. Macaulay has built his most serious accusation! What would be said of such evidence in a court of justice? Surely the memories of the illustrious dead are not less precious than the property of the living! Let me say, to the credit of Macintosh, that *he* makes no charge against Penn in this Oxford business. Here Mr. Macaulay is perfectly original. (5) Did Penn deal "in simony of a particularly disreputable kind, and use a bishopric as a bait to tempt a divine to perjury?" Mr. Macaulay continues to represent him as employed by the court; and having, as he says, failed in his attempt to terrify the collegians into obedience, he "then tried a gentler tone. He had an interview with Hough, and with some of the Fellows, and, after many professions of sympathy and friendship, began to hint at a compromise. . . . 'How should you like,' said Penn, 'to see Dr. Hough Bishop of Oxford?'" Hereupon follows the indignation about simony and perjury.

Now, let us see what is really known about this interview. Dr. Hough, its chief subject, wrote on the evening of the day on which it took place a letter to his cousin, in which he recited the principal heads of the discourse,—and this account, from one too deeply interested to be impartial, and too much excited to remember any thing but what especially concerned his own prospects and position, is unfortunately the only existing authority. Hunt was not present at this interview, and no account of it is preserved in the Magdalen College MSS. Holden's MS. letters in the same library commence posterior to the affair of Penn; and Baron Jenner's MS. account of the Visitation is not to be found. But let us take the authority we have, imperfect though it be, and see what matter can be drawn from it in support of the accusation. What says Hough? In the outset, instead of

Penn being "employed," as Mr. Macaulay continues to misrepresent him, to solicit the Fellows, it appears that the Fellows had sent a deputation to him, consisting of Hough and the principal members of the college. Their conversation lasted three hours; the substance of it I have given in the text of the ninth chapter of the memoir: Mr. Macaulay's version of it is inexact in all its essential particulars. "He then tried a gentler tone." The historian does not seem to know that two interviews took place, one at Oxford, the other at Windsor, with six weeks of an interval; there is no evidence, except the spurious letter, that he ever used other than a gentle tone. He "began to hint at a compromise:" the words of Hough are—"I thank God he did not so much as offer at any proposal by way of accommodation." How reconcile such statements? Now let us hear what Hough says of the simony and perjury. Penn, who, according to Swift, "spoke agreeably and with spirit," was always more or less facetious in conversation. Like his father, he was fond of a joke, and had that delight in drollery which belongs to the highest natures. In this very conversation we see how he made his rhetoric dance—"Christ Church is a noble structure, University is a pleasant place, and Magdalen College is a comely building." Hough, though not the most quick-witted of men, saw that he "had a mind to droll upon us." Stolid and heavy, Hough no doubt reported the conversation honestly, so far as he could remember and understand it. To quote his words—"Once he said, *smiling*, If the Bishop of Oxford die, Dr. Hough may be made Bishop. What think you of that, gentlemen?" Cradock, one of the Fellows present, took up the tone of pleasantry, and replied, "They should be heartily glad of it—for it would do very well with the presidency." Does any one doubt that this was a mere pleasantry? Observe, Penn had no commission to treat with the Fellows,—that he met them at their own request, to consider how he could serve their

interests. That Cradock thought it a joke is evident from his retort. Had the suggestion of the bishopric been in earnest, it must have been offered on condition of Hough giving up the presidency of his college—that being the point at issue. In such a case, to talk of the combination of the two offices would have been insulting and absurd. Even Hough himself, the least jocular of men, understood this remark as a mere pleasantry, for he instantly adds, "But, I told him, *seriously*, I had no ambition." And yet this innocent mirth, accepted and understood as such by all the parties concerned, after a lapse of nearly two centuries, is revived and tortured into a ground for one of the foulest accusations ever brought against an historical reputation! Is this English History?

Having far exceeded the limits of my original intention, which was only to introduce William Penn to the rising generation, and thereby induce the spirit of inquiry to read the various able biographies written of him,—to which, and his autobiography, I now make every acknowledgement for the liberties I have taken with them in compiling this sketch,—I have to regret that, even after lengthening my *short memoir* to its present extent, I have so signally failed to portray him in his full and diversified character. I have met with nothing, in my opinion, that has done him justice, neither as a Christian nor lawgiver, highly as he has been extolled for both. I did not know, when I penned my sketch, that he had ever been likened unto Moses. When we consider the darkness of the age in which he lived, both in a religious and political point of view,—the circumstances that surrounded him,—and contrast him with his fellows, which is the only correct method to obtain a true picture, we find him *determined* at all hazards to do good, surmounting every obstacle that parental authority wielding an immense estate could do to intimidate him, together with the

laws of his benighted country, which inflicted most direful punishments and persecutions upon him; then, added to all this, the natural propensities of the human heart, "which is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked:"—I say, contrast him with his fellows, and we find many of them pursuing a course diametrically opposite to his. Indeed, every thing that parents, government, and friends could do, were brought into requisition to guard their morals; yet, in defiance of *all* these restraints, the number who delighted to do evil and throw themselves away was very great. I would call the reader's attention to the dialogue held between Sir William Penn and his wife, after William's expulsion from home, as given by Weems, for a clearly-defined exposition of my views.

Good and great as he was, he was not shielded from the attacks of the ignorant and designing. I, therefore, take the liberty of calling attention to his biography by William Hepworth Dixon of England, written in 1851; and that also by Samuel M. Janney of Virginia, written since to exculpate him from various charges recently promulgated; they have succeeded, without an effort, to burnish him up, and caused him to shine forth even as the sun after a summer thunderstorm. Notwithstanding the facetious style of the Rev. M. L. Weems, I think his life of Penn should be introduced into every school in Pennsylvania, and in as many elsewhere as possible.

# Primitive Christianity Revived.

THE

# EPISTLE TO THE READER.

READER:—

BY this short ensuing treatise, thou wilt perceive the subject of it,—viz.: The Light of Christ in Man, as the Manifestation of God's Love for Man's Happiness. Now, forasmuch as this is the peculiar testimony and characteristic of the people called Quakers,—their great fundamental in religion,—that by which they have been distinguished from other professors of Christianity in their time, and to which they refer all people about faith, worship, and practice both in their ministry and writings,—that as the fingers shoot out of the hand, and the branches from the body of the tree,—so true religion, in all the parts and articles of it, springs from this divine principle in man. And because the prejudices of some are very great against this people and their way; and that others, who love their seriousness and commend their good life, are yet, through mistakes, or want of inquiry, under jealousy of their unsoundness in some points of faith; and that there are not a few in all persuasions which desire earnestly to know and enjoy God in that sensible manner this people speak of, and who seem to long after a state of holiness and acceptance with God, but are under doubts and despondings of their attaining it, from the want they find in themselves of inward power to enable them, and are unacquainted with this efficacious agent which God hath given and appointed for their supply.

For these reasons and motives, know, reader, I have taken in hand to write this small tract of the nature and virtue of the light of Christ within man; what and where it is,

and for what end, and therein of the religion of the people called Quakers; that, at the same time, all people may be informed of their true character, and what true religion is, and the way to it, in this age of high pretences and as deep irreligion; that so the merciful visitation of the God of light and love, (more especially to these nations,) both immediately and instrumentally for the promotion of piety, (which is religion indeed,) may no longer be neglected by the inhabitants thereof, but that they may come to see and say, with heart and mouth, this is a dispensation of love and life from God to the world; and this poor people, that we have so much despised, and so often trod upon, and treated as the off-scouring of the earth, are the people of God and children of the Most High. Bear with me, reader; I know what I say, and am not high-minded, but fear; for I write with humility towards God, though with confidence towards thee; not that thou shouldst believe upon my authority nothing less, for that's not to act upon knowledge, but trust, but that thou shouldst try and approve what I write; for that is all I ask, as well as all I need for thy conviction and my own justification. The whole, indeed, being but a Scriptural experiment upon the soul, and therefore seeks for no implicit credit, because it is self-evident to them that will uprightly try it.

And when thou, reader, shalt come to be acquainted with this principle, and the plain and happy teachings of it, thou wilt with us admire thou shouldst live so long a *stranger* to that which was so near thee, and as much wonder that other folks should be so blind as not to see it, as formerly thou thoughtest us singular for obeying it. The day, I believe, is at hand that will declare this with an uncontrollable authority, because it will be with an unquestionable evidence.

I have done, reader, with this preface when I have told thee:—first, that I have stated the principle and opened, as God has enabled me, the nature and virtue of it in religion,

wherein the common doctrines and articles of the Christian religion are delivered and improved, and about which I have endeavoured to express myself in plain and proper terms, and not in figurative, allegorical or doubtful phrases, that so I may leave no room for an equivocal or double sense; but that the truth of the subject I treat upon may appear easily and evidently to every common understanding. Next, I have confirmed what I writ by Scripture, reason, and the effects of it upon so great a people, whose uniform concurrence in the experience and practice thereof, through all times and sufferings since a people, challenge the notice and regard of every serious reader. Thirdly, I have written briefly, that so it might be every one's money and reading; and, much in a little is best, when we see daily that the richer people grow, the less money or time they have for God or religion; and perhaps those that would not buy a large book may find in their hearts to give away some of these for their neighbour's good, being little and cheap. Be serious, reader, be impartial, and then be as inquisitive as thou canst, and that for thine own soul, as well as the credit of this most misunderstood and abused people; and the God and Father of lights and spirits so bless thine, in the perusal of this short treatise, that thou may'st receive real benefit by it, to his glory and thine own comfort, which is the desire and end of him that wrote it; who is, in the bonds of Christian charity, very much and very ardently,

Thy real friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

# PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY REVIVED, ETC.

## CHAPTER I.

§ 1. Their Fundamental Principle. § 2. The Nature of it. § 3. Called by several names. § 4. They refer all to this, as to Faith and Practice, Ministry and Worship.

§ 1. That which the people called *Quakers* lay down as a main fundamental in religion is this—*That God, through Christ, hath placed a principle in every man, to inform him of his duty, and to enable him to do it; and that those that live up to this principle are the people of God, and those that live in disobedience to it, are not God's people, whatever name they may bear, or profession they may make of religion.* This is their ancient, first, and standing testimony: with this they began, and this they bore, and do bear to the world.

§ 2. By this *principle* they understand something that is *divine;* and though in man, *yet not of man*, but of God; and that it came from him, and leads to him all those that will be led by it.

§ 3. There are divers ways of speaking they have been led to use, by which they declare and express what this *principle* is, about which I think fit to precaution the reader—viz., they call it, *The light of Christ within man, or, light within*, which is their ancient, and most general and familiar phrase, also

the [1]*manifestation* [2]*or appearance of Christ,*[3] the [4]*witness of God, the* [5]*seed of God, the* [6]*seed of the king-*

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([1]) John i. 9. That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

([2]) Rom. i. 19. Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath showed it unto them.

Titus iii. 4. But after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared.

([3]) Acts xvii. 28. For in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring.

2 Peter i. 4. Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises; that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust.

([4]) Rom. viii. 6. For to be carnally minded, is death; but to be spiritually minded, is life and peace.

1 John v. 10–12. He that believeth on the Son of God, hath the witness in himself: he that believeth not God, hath made him a liar; because he believeth not the record that God gave of his Son. And this is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life; and this life is in his Son. He that hath the Son, hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life.

([5]) 1 Peter i. 23. Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth forever.

1 John iii. 9. Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.

([6]) Matt. xiii. 19–23. When any one heareth the word of the kingdom, and understandeth it not, then cometh the wicked one, and catcheth away that which was sown in his heart. This is he which receiveth seed by the way side.

But he that received the seed into stony places, the same is he that heareth the word, and anon with joy receiveth it: yet hath he not root in himself, but dureth for a while: for when tribulation or persecution ariseth, because of the word, by-and-by he is offended.

He also that received seed among the thorns, is he that heareth

*dom,* [1]*wisdom, the* [2]*word in the heart, the grace*[3] *that appears to all men, the* [4]*spirit given to every man to*

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the word; and the care of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches, choke the word, and he becometh unfruitful.

But he that received seed into the good ground, is he that heareth the word, and understandeth it; which also beareth fruit, and bringeth forth, some an hundred-fold, some sixty, some thirty.

(1) Prov. i. 20–23. Wisdom crieth without; she uttereth her voice in the streets: she crieth in the chief place of concourse, in the openings of the gates: in the city she uttereth her words, *saying,* How long, ye simple ones, will ye love simplicity? and the scorners delight in their scorning, and fools hate knowledge? Turn ye at my reproof: behold, I will pour out my spirit unto you, I will make known my words unto you.

Prov. viii. 1–4. Doth not wisdom cry? and understanding put forth her voice? She standeth in the top of high places, by the way in the places of the paths. She crieth at the gates, at the entry of the city, at the coming in at the doors: Unto you, O men, I call; and my voice is to the sons of man.

(2) Deut. xxx. 12–14. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.

Rom. x. 6–8. But the righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise, Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring Christ down from above;) or, Who shall descend into the deep? (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead:) But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart; that is, the word of faith, which we preach.

Psalm cxix. 10. With my whole heart have I sought thee: O let me not wander from thy commandments.

(3) Titus ii. 11, 12. For the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men, teaching us, that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world.

(4) 1 Cor. xii. 7. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal.

*profit with, the* [1]*truth in the inward parts, the* [2]*spiritual leaven that leavens the whole lump of man:* which are many of them figurative expressions, but all of them such as the Holy Ghost hath used, and which will be used in this treatise, as they are most frequently in the writings and ministry of this people. But that this *variety* and manner of expression may not occasion any misapprehension or confusion in the understanding of the reader, I would have him know, that they always mean by these terms or denominations, not *another*, but the *same principle*, before mentioned; which, as I said, though it be in man, is not of man, but of God, and therefore *divine:* and one in itself, though diversely expressed by the holy men, according to the various manifestations and operations thereof.

4. It is to this principle of Light, Life, and Grace, that this People refer all: for they say it is the great Agent in Religion; *that*, without which, there is no *Conviction*, so no *Conversion*, or *Regeneration;* and consequently no entering into the Kingdom of God. That is to say, there can be no true sight of sin, nor sorrow for it, and therefore no forsaking or overcoming of it, or Remission or Justification from it. A necessary and powerful Principle indeed, when

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(1) Psalm li. 6. Behold, thou desirest truth in the inward parts: and in the hidden part thou shalt make me to know wisdom.

Isaiah xxvi. 2. Open ye the gates, that the righteous nation which keepeth the truth may enter in.

John xiv. 6. Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, and the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father but by me.

(2) Matt. xiii. 33. Another parable spake he unto them; The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.

neither Sanctification nor Justification can be had without it. In short, there is no becoming virtuous, holy and good, without this Principle; no acceptance with God, nor peace of soul, but through it. But on the contrary, that the reason of so much *irreligion* among Christians, so much *superstition*, instead of Devotion, and so much profession without enjoyment, and so little *Heart-reformation*, is, because people in religion, *overlook* this Principle, and leave it behind them.

They will be religious *without* it, and Christians without it, though this be the only means of making them so indeed.

So natural is it to Man, in his degenerate state, to *prefer* sacrifice before obedience, and to make prayers go for practice, and so flatter himself with hope, by ceremonial and bodily service, to excuse himself to God from the stricter discipline of this Principle in the soul, which leads Man to take up the Cross, deny self, and do that which God requires of him: and that is every man's true religion, and every such man is truly religious; that is, he is holy, humble, patient, meek, merciful, just, kind, and charitable; which they say, no man can make himself; but that this principle will make all men so that will embrace the *convictions and teachings of it*, being *the root of all true religion in man, and the good seed from whence all good fruits* proceed. To sum up what they say upon the nature and virtue of it, as contents of that which follows, they declare that this principle is, first, *divine;* secondly, *universal;* thirdly, efficacious; in that it gives man, first, the knowledge of God and of himself, and therein a sight of his duty and disobedience to it. Secondly, *it begets a true*

*sense and sorrow for sin* in those that seriously regard the convictions of it. Thirdly, *it enables them to forsake sin, and sanctifies from it.* Fourthly, *it applies God's mercies in Christ for the forgiveness of sins that are past, unto justification, upon such sincere repentance and obedience.* Fifthly, *it gives to the faithful, perseverance unto a perfect man, and the assurance of blessedness, world without end.*

To the truth of all which, they call in a threefold evidence: *First*, the Scriptures, which give an ample witness, especially those of the New and better Testament. *Secondly*, the reasonableness of it in itself. And *lastly*, a general experience, in great measure; but particularly, *their own*, made credible by the good fruits they have brought forth, and the answer God has given to their ministry: which, to impartial observers, have commended the principle, and gives me occasion to abstract their *history*, in divers particulars, for a conclusion to this little *treatise.*

## CHAPTER II.

§ 1. The evidence of Scripture for this Principle, John i. 4–9. In Him was life; and the life was the light of men. *That* was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. § 2. Its Divinity. § 3. All things created by it. § 4. What it is to Man as to Salvation.

§ 1. I SHALL begin with the evidence of the blessed Scriptures of Truth, for this *divine principle*, and that under the name of *light*, the first and most common word used by them, to express and denominate this principle by, as well as most apt and proper in this dark state of the world.

John i. 1. *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.*

Verse 3. *All things were made by him.*

Verse 4. *In him was life, and the life was the light of men.*

Verse 9. *That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.*

§ 2. I have begun with him that began his *history* with him that was the *beginning of the creation of God;* the most beloved disciple, and longest liver of all the apostles, and he, that for excellent knowledge and wisdom in heavenly things, is justly entitled *John the divine.* He tells us first, what he was in the beginning, viz. *The Word. In the beginning was the Word.*

And though that shows what the *Word* must be,

yet he adds and explains, that the *Word was with God, and the Word* was God; lest any should doubt of the divinity of the Word, or have lower thoughts of him than he deserved. The *Word* then, is *divine*, and an apt term it is, that the *evangelist* styles him by, since it is so great an expression of the wisdom and power of God to men.

§ 3. *All things were made by Him.* If so, he wants no power. And if we were made by him, we must be new made by him too, or we never can enjoy God. His power shows his dignity, and that nothing can be too hard for such a sufficiency *as made all things, and without which nothing was made, that was made.* As man's *maker* must be his *husband*, so his *Creator* must be his *Redeemer* also.

§ 4. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. This is our point. The *evangelist* first begins with the *nature and being* of the *Word:* from thence he descends to the *works* of the *Word:* and lastly, then he tells us, what the *Word* is, with respect to man above the rest of the creation, viz. *The Word was life, and the life was the light of men.* The relation must be very near and intimate, when the very *life* of the *Word* (*that was with God, and was God*) is the *light of men:* as if men were next to the Word, and above all the rest of his works; for it is not said so of any other creature.

Man cannot want light then; no not a *divine light:* for if this be not *divine*, that is the *life* of the *divine word*, there can be no such thing at all as *divine* or *supernatural light* and *life.* And the text does not only prove the *divinity* of the *light*, but the *universality* of it also, because *man* mentioned in it, is *mankind:* which is yet more distinctly expressed

in his 9th verse, *That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.* Implying, that he that lighteth not mankind is not that *true light;* and therefore *John* was not that *light*, but bore witness of him that was, who *lighteth every man;* to wit, the *Word* that took flesh: so that both the *divine nature*, and *universality* of the light of Christ within, are confirmed together.

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## CHAPTER III.

§ 1. How this Scripture is wrested. § 2. That it is a Natural Light. § 3. That it lighteth not all. § 4. That it is only the Doctrine and Life of Christ when in the Flesh. All answered, and its Divinity and Universality proved.

§ 1. BUT though there be no passage or proposition to be found in Holy Scripture, in which mankind is more interested, or that is more clearly laid down by the Holy Ghost, than this I have produced, yet hardly hath any place been more industriously wrested from its true and plain sense: especially since this people have laid any stress upon it, in defence of their testimony of the *light within.* Some will have it to be but a *natural light*, or *a part of man's nature*, though it be the very *life* of the *Word*, by which the world was made; and mentioned within those verses, which only concern his *eternal power* and *Godhead.* But because I would be understood, and treat of things with all plainness, I will open the terms of the objection as well as I can, and then give my answer to it.

§ 2. If by natural be meant a created thing, as man is, or any thing that is requisite to the composition of man, I deny it: the text is expressly against it; and says, the light with which man is lighted, is the life *of the word, which was with God, and was God.* But if by natural is only intended, that the light comes along with us into the world; or that we have it as sure as we are born, or have nature; and is the *light* of our nature, of our minds and understandings, and is not the result of any revelation from without, as by angels or men; then we mean and intend the same thing. For it is natural to man to have a *supernatural light*, and for the creature to be lighted by an *uncreated* light, as is the life of the *creating word.* And did people but consider the constitution of man, it would conduce much to preserve or deliver them from any dilemma upon this account. For man can be no more a light to his mind, than he is to his body: he has the capacity of seeing objects when he has the help of light, but cannot be a light to himself, by which to see them. Wherefore as the sun in the firmament is the light of the body, and gives us discerning in our temporal affairs; so the *life* of the *word* is the glorious *light* and sun of the soul: our *intellectual luminary*, that informs our mind, and gives us true judgment and distinction about those things that more immediately concern our better, inward and eternal man.

§ 3. But others will have this text read thus, not that the word enlightens all mankind, *but that all who are enlightened, are enlightened by him*, thereby not only narrowing and abusing the text, but rendering God partial, and so severe to his creatures, as to leave the greatest part of the world in darkness, with-

out the means or opportunity of salvation; though we are assured from the Scriptures that [1]all have light, that Christ is the [2]light of the world, and that he [3]died for all; yea, the [4]ungodly, and that God desires not the [5]death of any, but rather that all should repent and come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved; and [6]that the grace of God has appeared to all men, &c.

§ 4. There is a third sort that will needs have it understood, not of any illumination by a *divine* light or spirit in man, but by the doctrine Christ preached, and the *life* and *example* he lived, and led in the world; and which yet neither reached the thousandth part of mankind, nor can consist with what the apostle *John* intends in the beginning of his history, which wholly relates to what Christ was before he took flesh, or at least, what he is to the soul, by his immediate inshinings and influences. 'Tis most true, Christ was, in a sense, the light of the world, in that

(1) John i. 4, 9. In him was life; and the life was the light of men. That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

(2) Chap. viii. 12. Then spake Jesus again unto them, saying, I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.

(3) Rom. v. 6. For when we were yet without strength, in due time, Christ died for the ungodly.

(4) 2 Cor. v. 15. And that he died for all, that they which live, should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them, and rose again.

(5) 1 Tim. ii. 4. Who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth.

(6) Tit. ii. 11, 12. For the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men, teaching us, that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world.

very appearance, and shined forth by his *heavenly doctrine*, many admirable *miracles*, and his *self-denying life and death:* but still that hinders not, but that he was and is *that spiritual light*, which shineth more or less, in the hearts of the sons and daughters of men. For as he was a *light* in his life and conversation, he was only a light in a more excellent sense than he spoke of to his disciples, when he said, *Ye are the lights of the world.* But Christ the word enlightened them, and enlightens us, and enlightens all men that come into the world; which he could not be said to do, if we only regard his personal and outward appearance: for in that sense it is long since he was that light, but in this he is continually so. In that respect he is *remote*, but in this sense he is *present* and *immediate*, else we should render the text, *That was the true light which did lighten*, instead of *which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.* And that the evangelist might be so understood, as we speak, he refers to this as an evidence of *his* being the Messiah, and not *John;* for whom many people had much reverence, for in verse eighth he saith of *John, He was not that light, but was sent to bear witness of that light:* now comes his proof and our testimony, that was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world; which was not *John*, or any else, but *the word that was with God, and was God.*

The evangelist did not describe him by his fasting forty days, preaching so many sermons, working so many miracles, and living so holy a life; and, after all, so patiently suffering death, (which yet Christ did) thereby to prove him the light of the world; but, says the evangelist, *That was the true light, the word*

*in flesh, the Messiah*, and not *John*, or any else, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. So that Christ is manifested and distinguished by giving light: and indeed so are all his followers from other people, by *receiving* and *obeying* it. There are many other Scriptures, of both Testaments, that refer to the light within; either expressly, or implicitly; which, for brevity's sake, I shall waive reciting; but the reader will find some directions in the margin, which will guide him to them.

The Scriptures referred to are as follows.

Job xviii. 5, 6. Yea, the light of the wicked shall be put out, and the spark of his fire shall not shine. The light shall be dark in his tabernacle, and his candle shall be put out with him.

Chap. xxi. 17. How oft is the candle of the wicked put out? and how oft cometh their destruction upon them? God distributeth sorrows in his anger.

Chap. xxv. 3. Is there any number of his armies? and upon whom doth not his light arise.

Chap. xxxviii. 15. And from the wicked their light is withholden, and the high arm shall be broken.

Psalm xviii. 28. For thou wilt light my candle: the Lord my God will lighten my darkness.

Psalm xxvii. 1. The Lord is my light and my salvation; who shall I fear? The Lord is the strength of my life; of whom shall I be afraid?

Psalm xxxiv. 5. They looked unto him, and were lightened: and their faces were not ashamed.

Psalm xxxvi. 9. For with thee is the fountain of life: in thy light shall we see light.

Psalm cxviii. 27. God is the Lord, which hath showed us light: bind the sacrifice with cords, even unto the horns of the altar.

Psalm cxix. 105. Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path.

Prov. xiii. 9. The light of the righteous rejoiceth: but the lamp of the wicked shall be put out.

Prov. xx. 20, 27. Whoso curseth his father or his mother, his lamp shall be put out in obscure darkness. The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord, searching all the inward parts of the belly.

Prov. xxiv. 20. For there shall be no reward to the evil man; the candle of the wicked shall be put out.

Isa. ii. 5. O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord.

Isa. viii. 20. To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.

Isa. xlii. 6. I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles:

Isa. xlix. 6. And he said, It is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant, to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth.

1 Peter ii. 9. But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should shew forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light:

1 John ii. 8. Again, a new commandment I write unto you, which thing is true in him, and in you; because the darkness is past, and the true light now shineth.

## CHAPTER IV.

¿ 1. *The virtue of the light within: it gives discerning.* ¿ 2. *It* manifests *God.* ¿ 3. *It gives life to the soul.* ¿ 4. *It is the* apostolic *message.* ¿ 5. *Objection answered about two lights.* ¿ 6. *About natural and spiritual light: not two darknesses within, therefore not two lights within.* ¿ 7. *The Apostle John answers the objection fully: the light the same,* 1 John ii. 8, 9. Again, a new commandment I write unto you, which thing is true in him, and in you; because the darkness is past, and the true light now shineth. He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now

§ 1. THE third thing, is the *virtue* and *efficacy* of this light for the end for which God hath given it, viz. *To lead and guide the soul of man to blessedness.* In order to which, the first thing it does in and for man, is to give him a true sight or discerning of himself: what he is, and what he does; that he may see and know his own condition, and what judgment to make of himself, with respect to religion and a future state: of which, let us hear what the *word* himself saith, that cannot err, as John relates it, chap. iii. 20, 21. "For every one that doeth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. But he that doth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God."

A most pregnant instance of the *virtue* and authority of the light. *First*, it is that which men ought to examine themselves by. *Secondly*, it gives a *true*

*discerning* betwixt good and bad, *what is of God, from what is not of God.* And, *lastly*, it is a judge, and condemneth or acquitteth, *reproveth* or *comforteth*, the soul of man, as he rejects or obeys it. That must needs be *divine* or *efficacious*, which is able to discover to man, what is of God, from what is not of God; and which gives him a *distinct* knowledge, in himself, of what is wrought in God, from what is not wrought in God. By which it appears, that this place does not only regard the discovery of man and his works, but, in some measure, *it manifesteth God, and his works also*, which is yet something higher; forasmuch as it gives the *obedient* man a discovery of what is wrought or performed by *God's power, and after his will*, from what is the mere workings of the creature of himself.

If it could not manifest God, it could not tell man what was God's mind, nor give him such a grounded sense and discerning of the rise, nature, and tendency of the workings of his mind or inward man, as is both expressed and abundantly implied in this passage of our Saviour. And if it reveals *God*, to-be-sure it manifests *Christ*, that flows and comes from God. Who then would oppose or slight this blessed light?

§ 2. But that this *light* doth *manifest* God, is yet evident from Rom. i. 19. Because that which may be known of God, is manifest in them: for God hath showed it unto them. An *universal proposition;* and we have the apostle's word for it, who was *one of a thousand*, and inspired *on purpose* to tell us the truth: let it then have its due weight with us. If that which may be known of God is manifest in men, the people called *Quakers* cannot, certainly, be out of the way in preaching up the *light within*, without which, nothing

can be manifested to the mind of man; as saith the same apostle to the *Ephesians*, Eph. v. 13.

But all things that are reproved, are made manifest by the light: for whatsoever doth make manifest, is light. Well then may they call this light within a *manifestation* or *appearance of God*, that sheweth *in* and to man, all that may be known of God. A passage much like unto this, is that of the Prophet *Micah*, chap. vi. 8. God hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God? God hath *shewed thee*, O man! It is very emphatical. But how hath He shewed him? Why by his *light in the conscience*, which the *wicked rebel against*, Job xxiv. 13. Who, for that cause, *know not the ways thereof, nor abide in the paths thereof:* For its ways are ways of pleasantness, and all its paths are peace, to them that obey it.

§ 3. But the *light* giveth the *light of life*, which is *eternal life* to them that receive and obey it. Thus, says the blessed Saviour of the world, John viii. 12. *I am the light of the world*, he that followeth *me shall not abide in darkness, but shall have the light of life.* Now he is the light of the world, because he lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and they that obey that light obey him, and therefore have the light of life. That is, the light becomes *eternal* life to the soul: that as it is the *life* of the *word*, which is the light in man, so it becomes the life in man, through his obedience to it, as his *heavenly light.*

§ 4. Furthermore, this light was the very ground of the *apostolic message*, as the beloved disciple assures us, 1 John i. 5, 6, 7. *This then is the message which we have heard of him, and declare unto you,*

*that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth: but if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.* Which is so comprehensive of the virtue and excellency of the light, in reference to man, that there is little need that more should be said upon it; forasmuch as, *first*, it reveals God, and that God himself is light. *Secondly*, it discovers darkness from light, and that there is no fellowship between them. *Thirdly*, that man ought to walk in the light. *Fourthly*, that it is the way to obtain forgiveness of sin and sanctification from it. *Fifthly*, that it is the means to have peace and fellowship with God and his people; his true church, redeemed from the pollutions of the world.

§ 5. Some, perhaps, may object, as indeed it hath been more than once objected upon us, *That this is another light, not that light wherewith every man is enlightened.* But the same apostle, in his evangelical history, tells us, *that in the word was life, and the life was the light of men, and that that very light, was the life of the word*, was the *true light* which lighteth *every man* that cometh into the world, John i. 4, 9. *In him was life; and the life was the light of men. That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.* Where is there so plain a text to be found against the sufficiency, as well as universality of the light within; or a plainer for any article of faith in the whole book of God? Had the *beloved disciple* intended *two* lights, in his evangelical history, and his epistles, to-be-sure he would have noted to us his distinction: but we read of none,

and by the properties ascribed in each writing, we have reason to conclude he meant the same.

§ 6. But if any shall yet object, *That this is to be understood a spiritual light*, and that ours is to be a natural one, I shall desire them to do two things: *First*, to prove that a *natural* light, as they phrase it, doth manifest God, other than as I have before explained and allowed; since whatever is part of man, in his constitution, but especially in his degeneracy from God, is so far from yielding him the knowledge of God, that it cannot *rightly* reprove or discover that which offends him, without the light we speak of: and it is granted, that what we call *divine*, and some, mistakingly, call *natural* light, can do both. *Secondly*, if this light be *natural*, notwithstanding it doth manifest our duty, and reprove our disobedience to God, they would do well to assign us some certain *medium*, or *way*, whereby we may truly discern and distinguish between the manifestations and reproofs of the *natural* light within, from those of the *divine* light within, since they allow the manifestation of God, and reproof of evil, as well to the one, as to the other. Let them give us but one Scripture that distinguishes between a *natural* and a *spiritual* light within. They may, with as much reason, talk of a *natural and spiritual darkness within*. It is true, there is a natural proper darkness, to wit, the night of the outward world; and there is a spiritual darkness, viz. the *clouded* and *benighted* understandings of men, through disobedience to the light and spirit of God: but let them assign us a third, if they can. People use, indeed, to say, improperly, of blind men, they are *dark*, we may call a *natural* or *idiot* so, if we will; but where is there another darkness of the understanding,

in the things of God? If they can, I say, find that, in and about the things of God, they do something.

Christ distinguished not between darkness and darkness, or light and light, in any such sense; nor did any of his disciples: yet both have frequently spoken of darkness and light. What difference, pray, doth the Scriptures put between spiritual darkness and darkness mentioned in these places,

Luke i. 79. To give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace.

Mat. iv. 16. The people which sat in darkness, saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up.

John i. 5. And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not.

John iii. 19. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.

John viii. 12, 31, 46. Then spake Jesus again unto them, saying, I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life. Then said Jesus to those Jews which believed on him, If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; which of you convinceth me of sin? And if I say the truth, why do ye not believe on me?

1 Thes. v. 4. But ye, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief.

1 John i. 6. If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth.

Acts xxvi. 18. To open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of

Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me.

Rom. xiii. 12. The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us, therefore, cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light.

2 Cor. vi. 14. Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness?

Eph. v. 8. For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord: walk as children of the light:

Col. i. 13. Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son;

Upon the strictest comparison of them I find none. It is all one spiritual darkness. Neither is there so much as one Scripture that affords us a distinction between *light within and light within;* or that there are really *two lights* from God, in man, that regard religion. Peruse Mat. iv. 16. The people which sat in darkness, saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up.

Luke ii. 32. A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel.

Luke xv. 8. Either what woman, having ten pieces of silver, if she lose one piece, doth not light a candle, and sweep the house, and seek diligently, till she find it?

John i. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9. In him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John,

The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the light, that all men through him might believe. He was not that light, but was sent to bear witness of that light. That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

Chap. iii. 19, 20, 21. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. For every one that doeth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. But he that doeth truth, cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God.

Chap. viii. 12. Then spake Jesus again unto them, saying, I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.

Acts xxvi. 18. To open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me.

Rom. xiii. 12. The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us, therefore, cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light.

2 Cor. iv. 6. For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.

Chap. vi. 14. Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness?

Eph. v. 8, 13. For ye were sometimes darkness, but

now are ye light in the Lord: walk as children of light. But all things that are reproved, are made manifest by the light; for whatsoever doth make manifest, is light.

Col. i. 12. Giving thanks unto the Father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light;

1 Thes. v. 5. Ye are all the children of light, and the children of the day: we are not of the night nor of darkness.

1 Tim. vi. 16. Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see: to whom be honour and power everlasting. Amen.

1 Pet. ii. 9. But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should show forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light.

1 John i. 5, 7. This then is the message which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another; and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.

Chap. ii. 8. Again, a new commandment I write unto you, which thing is true in him, and in you; because the darkness is past, and the true light now shineth.

Rev. xxi. 23, 24. And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. And the nations of them which are saved, shall walk in the light of it; and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it.

Chap. xxii. 5. And there shall be no night there: and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light; and they shall reign forever and ever.

And we believe the greatest opposer, to our assertion, will not be able to sever light from light, or find out *two lights within*, in the passages here mentioned, or any other, to direct man in his duty to God and his neighbour: and if he cannot, pray let him forbear his *mean thoughts and words* of the *light of Christ within man*, as man's *guide* in duty to God and man. For as he must yield to us, that the light manifesteth evil, and reproveth for it, so doth *Christ* himself teach us of the light, John iii. 20. For every one that doth evil hateth the light, neither cometh unto the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. And the Apostle Paul plainly saith, Eph. v. 13. *But all things that are reproved* are made manifest by the light; therefore there are not two distinct lights within, but one and the same *manifesting*, *reproving*, and *teaching light within*. And this the Apostle *John*, in his first epistle, makes plain, beyond all exception, to all considerate people: First, in that he calls God, *light*, chap. i. 5: This then is the message which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. Secondly, in that he puts no *medium* or *third* thing between that *light*, and *darkness*, verse 6. *If we say we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness*, we lie, &c. Intimating, that men must walk either in *light* or *darkness*, and not in a *third*, or other state or region. I am sure, that which manifests and reproves darkness, *cannot be darkness*. This all men must confess.

§ 7. And, as if the Apostle *John* would have anticipated their objection, viz. '*Tis true, your light within reproves for evil, but it is not therefore the Divine Light which leads into higher things, and which comes by the gospel;* he thus expresseth himself, 1 John ii. 8, 9: *The darkness is past, and the true Light now shineth. He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now;* which is not another light than that mentioned before, chap. i. For as light is put there, in opposition to darkness, so light here, is put in *opposition* to darkness. And as the *darkness* is the *same*, so must the *light* be the *same*. Wherefore we may plainly see, that it is *not another light*, than that which reproves a man for *hating his brother*, which brings a man *into fellowship with God, and to the blood of cleansing*, as the next verse speaks: therefore that Light which reproveth a man for hating his brother, *is of a divine and efficacious nature*. In short, that light which is opposite to, and reproves spiritual darkness, in a man and woman, is a *spiritual Light;* but such a Light is that which we confess, testify to, and maintain: therefore it is a *spiritual Light*. It is also worth our notice, that the apostle useth the same manner of expression here, chap. ii. 8, The *true Light* shineth, that he doth in his Evangelical History, chap. i. 9: That was the *true Light;* intimating the same divine Word, or *true* Light *now* shineth; and that it is the same *true Light* in his account, that *reproveth* such as *hate their brethren:* consequently, that Light that so reproveth them is the *true Light*. And strange it is, that Christ and his disciples, but especially his beloved one, should so often make that very light, which *stoops* to the

*lowest* step of immorality, and to the reproof of the *grossest* evil, to be no other than the *same divine light*, in a farther degree of manifestation, which brings such as follow it to the *Light of Life*, to the *blood of cleansing*, and to have *fellowship with God, and one with another:* Nay, not only so, but the apostle makes a man's being a *child of God*, to depend upon his *answering* of this light in a *palpable* and common case, viz. *Not hating of his brother:* and that yet any should shut their eyes so fast against beholding the virtue of it, as to conclude it a *natural and insufficient* light, is both *unscriptural* and *unreasonable.* Shall we slight it, because we come so easily by it, and it is so familiar and domestic to us? Or make its being so common an argument to undervalue so inestimable a mercy? What is more common than *light*, and *air*, and *water?* And should we therefore contemn them, or prize them? *Prize* them, certainly, as what we cannot live, nor live *comfortably* without. The more general the mercy is, the greater, and therefore the greater obligation upon man to live humbly and thankfully for it. And to those alone that do so, are its divine secrets revealed.

## CHAPTER V.

§ 1. *The Light the same with the* Spirit. *It is of God; proved by its properties.* § 2. *The properties of the Spirit compared with those of the Light.* § 3. *The Light and Grace* flow *from the same principle, proved by their agreeing properties.* § 4. *An objection answered.* § 5. *Difference in* manifestation, or *operation*, especially in Gospel times, *but not in principle, illustrated.*

§ 1. But some may say, *We could willingly allow to the Spirit and grace of God, which seemed to be the peculiar blessing of the new and second covenant, and the fruit of the coming of Christ, all that which you ascribe to the* light within; *but except it appeared to us that this* light *were the same in nature with the* Spirit *and* grace of God, *we cannot easily bring ourselves to believe what you say in favour of the light within.*

Answ. This *objection*, at first look, seems to carry weight with it: but upon a just and serious review, it will appear to have more words than matter, show than substance: yet because it gives occasion to solve scruples, that may be flung in the way of the simple, I shall attend it throughout. I say, then, if it appear that the *properties* ascribed to the *light within* are the same with those that are given to the *Holy Spirit* and *grace of God;* and that those several terms or epithets, are only to express the divers manifestations or operations of one and the same principle, then it will not, it cannot be denied, but

this light within, is *divine* and *efficacious*, as we have asserted it. Now, that it is of the same nature with the Spirit and grace of God, and tends to the same end, which is to bring people to God, let the *properties* of the *light* be compared with those of the Spirit and grace of God. I say, they are the same, in that, *First*, The light proceeds from the *One Word*, and *One Life* of that *One Word*, which was *with* God and was God. John i. 4: In him was life; and the life was the light of men. And John i. 9: That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Secondly, It is *universal*, it lighteth *every* man. Thirdly, *It giveth the knowledge of God and fellowship with* him. Rom. i. 19: Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath shewed it unto them. John iii. 21: But he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God. 1 John i. 5, 6: This then is the message which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth. Fourthly, It manifesteth and reproveth evil, John iii. 20: For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. Eph. v. 13: But all things that are reproved are made manifest by the light: for whatsoever doth make manifest is light. *Fifthly*, It is made the rule and guide of Christian walking, Psalm xliii. 3: O send out thy light and thy truth: let them lead me; let them bring me unto thy holy hill, and to thy tabernacles. John viii. 12: Then spake Jesus again unto them, saying, I am the light of the world: he that followeth me

shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life. Eph. v. 13, 14: But all things that are reproved are made manifest by the light: for whatsoever doth make manifest is light. Wherefore he saith, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light. See then that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise. *Sixthly*, It is the path for God's people to go in, Psalm cxix. 105: Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path. Prov. iv. 18: But the path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day. Isa. ii. 5: O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord. 1 John i. 7: But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin. Rev. xxi. 24: And the nations of them which are saved, shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it. And the nations of them that are saved, shall walk in the light (of the Lamb.) *Lastly*, It is the armour of the children of God against Satan, Psalm xxvii. 1: The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? The Lord is the strength of my life; of whom shall I be afraid? Rom. xiii. 12: The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light.

§ 2. Now let all this be compared with the *properties* of the *Holy Spirit*, and their agreement will be very manifest. *First*, *It proceedeth from God*, because it is the Spirit of God, Rom. vi. 11: Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord. Se-

condly, It is *universal*. It *strove* with the old world, Gen. vi. 3: And the Lord said, My Spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years. Then to be sure with the new One: *Every one hath a measure of it given to profit* withal, 1 Cor. xii. 7. *Thirdly*, *It revealeth God*, Job xxxii. 8: But there is a spirit in man: and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding. 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11: But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit: For the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. *Fourthly*, *It reproveth sin*, John xvi. 8: And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment. Fifthly, It is a rule and a guide for the children of God to walk by, Rom. viii. 14: For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. Sixthly, It is also the *path* they are to walk in, Rom. viii. 1: There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. Gal. v. 16: This I say then, walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh. Walk in the Spirit. Lastly, This is not all; it is likewise the *spiritual weapon* of a true Christian. Eph. vi. 17: Take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. After this, I hope none will deny that this Light and *this* Spirit must be of one and the same nature, that work *one and the same effect*, and tend evidently to *one and the same holy end*.

§ 3. And what is said of the *Light* and *Spirit*, may

also, very well be said of the *Light and Grace* of God: in that, *First*, The *grace* floweth from Christ, the Word, that took flesh, as well as the *light;* for as in him was life, and that *life* the *light of men*, so he was *full of grace and truth, and of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace*, John i. 4, 9, 14, 16: In him was life; and the life was the light of men. That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth. And of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace.

Secondly, It is *universal;* both from this text, and what the apostle to *Titus* teacheth: For the grace of God that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men, Teaching us, that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world, Titus ii. 11, 12. Thirdly, It manifesteth evil, for if it teaches to *deny* ungodliness and worldly lusts, it must needs detect them, and so says the text. Fourthly, *It revealeth godliness, and consequently it must manifest God.* Fifthly, it is an instructor and Guide; for, says the *apostle*, *It teaches to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, and herein a rule of life*, Tit. ii. 11, 12. Sixthly, *It is to all that receive it, all that they can need or desire.* 2 Cor. xii. 9: And he said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me. *An high testimony* from

Heaven, to the power of this *teaching* and *saving grace*, under the strongest temptations.

§ 4. Obj. But there is a little mention made of the Spirit, and none of the Grace, before Christ's coming, and therefore the Spirit, as spoken of in the writings of the New Testament, and especially the Grace, must be another, and a nobler thing than the light within. Answ. By no means another thing, but another name, from another manifestation or operation, of the same principle. It is called light from the distinction and discerning it gives. Let there be light, and there was light, said God in the beginning of the world; so there is first Light in the beginning of the new creation of God in man. It is called *Spirit*, because it giveth life, sense, motion and vigour: and it is as often mentioned in the writings of the Old as New Testament; which every reader may see, if he will but please to look into his Scripture Concordance. Thus God's Spirit strove with the old world, Gen. vi. 3: And the Lord said, My Spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years. And with Israel in the wilderness, Neh. ix. 30: Yet many years didst thou forbear them, and testifiedst against them by thy Spirit in thy prophets: yet would they not give ear: therefore gavest thou them into the hand of the people of the lands. And David asked, in the agony of his soul, Psalm cxxxix. 7, Whither shall I go from thy Spirit? Or whither shall I flee from thy presence? And the prophets often felt it. It is styled grace, not from its being another principle, but because it was a fuller dispensation of the virtue and power of the same divine principle: and that being purely God's favour and mercy, and not man's

merit, is aptly, and deservedly called the grace, favour, or good-will of God to undeserving man. The wind does not always blow fresh, nor heaven send down its rain freely, nor the sun shine forth clearly; shall we therefore say, it is not of the same kind of wind, rain, or light, when it blows, rains, or shines but a little, as when it blows, rains, or shines much? It is certainly the same in nature and kind; and so is this *blessed principle*, under all its several dispensations, manifestations and operations, for the benefit of man's soul, ever since the world began.

§ 5. But this is most freely, humbly and thankfully acknowledged by us, that the dispensation of the Gospel was the clearest, fullest, and noblest of all other, both with regard to the coming of Christ in the flesh, and being our *one* holy offering to God for sin, through the eternal Spirit; and the breaking forth of his light, the effusion of his Spirit, and appearance of his grace in, and to man, in a more excellent manner, after his ascension. For though it was not another Light, or Spirit, than that which he had given to man in former ages, yet it was another and *greater measure;* and that is the privilege of the gospel above former dispensations. What before shined but dimly, shines since with great glory. 2 Cor. iii. 18: But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord. Then it appeared but darkly, but now with open face. Types, figures and shadows *vailed* its appearances and made them look low and faint; but in the gospel time, the vail is rent, and the hidden glory manifest. John i. 5, 17: And the Light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not.

For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." It was under the law but as a dew, or small rain, but under the gospel, it may be said to be poured out upon men; according to that gracious and notable promise of God, by the prophet Joel, chap. ii. 28: "And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions." Thus we say when it rains plentifully, look how it pours, so God augments his light, grace, and Spirit to these latter days. They shall not have it sparingly, and by small drops, *but fully and freely, and overflowing too.* And thus *Peter*, that deep and excellent apostle, applies that promise in *Joel*, on the *day of Pentecost*, as the beginning of the accomplishment of it. This is grace, and favour, and goodness indeed. And therefore well may this brighter illumination, and greater effusion of the Spirit, be called *grace;* for as the coming of the Son excelled that of the servant, so did the manifestation of the light and Spirit of God, since the coming of Christ, excel that of the foregoing dispensations; yet ever sufficient to salvation, to all those that walked in it. This is our *sense of the light, Spirit, and grace of God:* and by what is said, it is evident they are *one and the same principle*, and that he that has light, need not want the Spirit or grace of God, if he will but receive it, in the love of it: for the very principle, that is light to show him, is also spirit to quicken him, and grace to teach, help, and comfort him. It is sufficient in all circumstances of life, to them that diligently mind and obey it.

## CHAPTER VI.

¿ 1. An Objection answered: All are not Good, though all are lighted. ¿ 2. Another Objection answered, That Gospel truths were known before Christ's Coming. ¿ 3. Another: The Gentiles had the same Light, though not with those Advantages: Proved by Scripture.

§ 1. But *some may yet say, If it be as you declare, how comes it, that all who are enlightened, are not so good as they should be; or, as you say, this would make them?*

Answ. Because people don't receive and obey it: all men have reason, but all men are not reasonable. Is it the fault of the *grain*, in the *granary*, that it yields no increase, or of the *talent* in the napkin, that it is not improved? It is plain a *talent* was given; and as plain that it was improveable; both because the like talents were actually improved by others, and, *that the just Judge expected his talent with advantage;* which else, to be sure, he would never have done. Now when our objectors will tell us, whose fault it was the *talent* was not improved, we shall be ready to tell them, *why the unprofitable servant was not so good as he should have been.* The blind must not blame the sun, nor sinners tax the *grace of insufficiency.* It is sin that darkens the eye, and hardens the heart, and that hinders good things from the sons of men. *If we do his will, we shall know of his divine doctrine*, so Christ tells us. Men not living to what they know, cannot blame God, that they know no

more. The unfruitfulness is in *us*, not in the *talent*. 'Twere well indeed, that this were laid to heart. But, alas! men are too apt to follow their sensual appetites, rather than their reasonable mind, which renders them brutal instead of rational. For the *reasonable part in man*, is his *spiritual part*, and that guided by the divine *Logos*, or *Word*, which *Tertullian* interprets *reason in the most excellent sense*, makes *man truly reasonable;* and then it is that man comes to offer up himself to God a *reasonable sacrifice*. Then a *man indeed;* a complete man; such a man as God *made*, when he made man in *his own image*, and gave him Paradise for his habitation.

§ 2. Obj. But some yet object, *If mankind had always this principle, how comes it that gospel-truths were not so fully known before the coming of Christ, to those that were obedient to it.*

Answ. Because a child is not a grown man, nor the beginning the end; and yet he that is the beginning, is also the end: the principle is the same, though not the manifestation. As the world has many steps and periods of time towards its end, so hath man to his perfection. They that are faithful to what they know of the dispensation of their own day, shall hear the happy welcome, of *Well done, good and faithful servant*. And yet many of God's people in those days, had a prospect of the glory of the latter times, the improvement of religion, the happiness of the church of God.

This we see in the *prophecy* of Jacob and Moses, concerning the restoration of Israel by Christ. Gen. xlix. 10: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be."

Deut. xviii. 15, 18. "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken. I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him."

So *David*, in many of his excellent *Psalms*, expressing most sensible and extraordinary enjoyments, as well as *Prophecies;* particularly his 2, 15, 18, 22, 23, 25, 27, 32, 36, 37, 42, 43, 45, 51, 84, &c. The Prophets are full of it, and for that reason have their name; particularly *Isaiah*, chap. 2, 9, 11, 25, 28, 32, 35, 42, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 59, 60, 61, 63, 65, 66. *Jeremiah* also, chap. 23, 30, 31, 33. Ezekiel, chap. 20, 34, 36, 37. *Daniel*, chap. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. *Hosea*, chap. 1, 3. *Joel*, chap. 2, 3. *Amos*, chap. 9. *Micah*, chap. 4, 5. *Zachariah*, chap. 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14. *Malachi*, chap. 3, 4. This was not another principle, though another manifestation of the same principle, nor was it common, but particular and extraordinary in the reason of it.

It was the same Spirit that came upon *Moses*, which came upon *John the Baptist*, and it was also the same Spirit that came upon *Gideon* and *Samson*, that fell upon *Peter* and *Paul;* but it was not the same dispensation of that Spirit. It hath been the way of God, to visit and appear to men, according to their states and conditions, and as they have been prepared to receive him, be it more outwardly or inwardly, sensibly or spiritually. There is no capacity too low, or too high, for this divine principle: for as it made and knows all, so it reaches unto all people. It extends to the meanest, and the highest cannot subsist

without it. Which made *David* break forth in his expostulations with God, Psalm cxxxix. 7, 8, 9, 10. "Whither shall I go from thy Spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there: if I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me." Implying it was everywhere, though not everywhere, not at every time alike. If I go to heaven, to hell, or beyond the seas, even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me. That is, there will this divine Word, this Light of men, this Spirit of God, find me, lead me, help me, and comfort me. For it is with me wherever I am, and wherever I go, in one respect or other; Prov. vi. 22: "When thou goest, it shall lead thee; when thou *sleepest, it shall keep thee; and when thou awakest, it shall talk with thee:*" and I can no more get rid of it, if I would, than of myself, or my own nature; so present is it with me, and so close it sticks unto me. Isa. xliii. 2: "*When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.*" David knew it, and therefore had a great value for it. "*In thy light shall we see light,*" or we shall be enlightened by thy light. "*Thou wilt light my candle; the Lord my God will lighten my darkness.*" Again, "*The Lord is my Light, whom shall I fear.*" It was his armour against all danger. It took fear away from him, and he was undaunted, because he was safe in the way of it. Of the same blessed word he says elsewhere, "*It is a lamp unto*

*my feet, and a lanthorn to my paths.*" In short, a light to him in his way to blessedness.

§ 3. Obj. *But if the Jews had this light, it does not follow that the Gentiles had it also; but by your doctrine all have it.*

Answ. Yes, and it is the glory of this doctrine which we profess, that God's love is therein held forth to *all.* And besides the texts cited in general, and that are as full and positive as can be expressed, the apostle is very particular in the second chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, verse 7: "*To them who, by patient continuance in well doing*, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life: 8. But unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath: 9. Tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil; of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile:

10. But glory, honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good; to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile:

11. For there is no respect of persons with God.

12. For as many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without law; and as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law;

13. (For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified.

14. For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves:

15. Which shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another;)

16. In the day when God shall judge the secrets

of men by Jesus Christ according to my gospel." That is, they had not an outward law, circumstanced as the *Jews* had; but *they had the work of the law written in their hearts*, and therefore might well be a law to themselves, that had the law *in themselves*. And so had the *Jews* too, but then they had greater outward helps to quicken their obedience to it; such as God afforded not unto any other nation: and therefore the obedience of the *Gentiles*, or uncircumcision, is said to be by nature, or naturally, because it was without those additional, external, and extraordinary ministers and helps which the *Jews* had to provoke them to duty. Which is so far from lessening the *obedient Gentiles*, that it exalts them in the apostle's judgment; because though they had less advantages than the *Jews*, yet the *work of the law written in their hearts*, was made so much the more evident by the good life they lived in the world. He adds, "*their consciences bearing witness* (or as it may be rendered, witnessing with them) *and their thoughts, meanwhile, accusing, or else excusing one another, in the day when God shall judge the secrets of all hearts by Jesus Christ*, according to my gospel." Which presents us with four things to our point, and worth our serious reflection. *First*, That the *Gentiles* had the law written in their hearts. *Secondly*, That their conscience was an allowed witness or evidence about duty. *Thirdly*, That the judgment made thereby shall be confirmed by the apostle's gospel at the great day, and therefore valid and irreversible. *Fourthly*, That this could not be, if the light of this conscience were not a divine and sufficient light: for conscience truly speaking, *is no other than the sense a man hath, or judgment he maketh of his duty*

*to God, according to the understanding God gives him of his will.* And that no ill, but a true and scriptural use may be made of this word *conscience*, I limit it to duty, and to a virtuous and holy life, as the apostle evidently doth, about which we cannot miss, or dispute; read verses 7, 8 and 9: "To them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life: but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil; of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile." It was to that therefore the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ desired to be made manifest, for they dared to stand the judgment of *conscience*, in reference to the doctrine they preached and pressed upon men. The beloved disciple also makes it a judge of man's present and future state, under the term heart. 1 John iii. 20, 21: "For if our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things. Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God." Plain and strong words: and what were they about, but whether we love God, in deed and in truth: and how must that appear? Why, in *keeping* his *commandments*, which is living up to what we know. And if any desire to satisfy themselves farther of the divinity of the *Gentiles*, let them read *Plato*, *Seneca*, *Plutarch*, *Epictetus*, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, and the *Gentile writers*. They will also find many of their sayings, collected in the first part of a book, called *The Christian Quaker*, and compared with the testimonies of Scriptures, not for their authority, but agreeableness. In them they may discern many excellent truths, and taste great

love and devotion to virtue: a fruit that grows upon no tree, but that of life, in no age or nation. Some of the most eminent writers of the first ages, such as *Justin Martyr*, *Origen*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, &c., bore them great respect, and thought it no lessening to the reputation of Christianity, that it was defended in many *Gentile* authors, as well as that they used and urged them, to engage their followers to the faith, as *Paul* did the *Athenians* with their own poets.

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## CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. An Objection answered about the various Dispensations of God: The Principle the same. § 2. God's Work of a piece, and Truth the same under divers Shapes. § 3. The Reason of the Prevalency of Idolatry. § 4. The Quaker's Testimony the best Antidote against it, viz. Walking by a divine Principle in Man. § 5. It was God's End in all his Manifestations, that Man might be God's Image and Delight.

§ 1. Obj. BUT it may be said, If it were one principle, why so many modes and shapes of religion, since the world began? For the patriarchal, Mosaical, and Christian, have their great differences; to say nothing of what has befallen the Christian, since the publication of it to the world.

Answ. I know not how properly they may be called divers religions, that assert the *true God* for the object of worship; the Lord *Jesus Christ*, for the *only Saviour;* and the *light*, or *Spirit of Christ*, for the *great agent and means of man's conversion, and eternal felicity*, any more than infancy, youth, and manhood, make *three* men, instead of *three growths*

*or periods of time*, of one and the same man. But passing that, the many modes, or ways of God's appearing to men, arise, as hath been said, from the divers states of men, in all which, it seems to have been his main design to prevent idolatry and vice, by directing their minds to the true object of worship, and pressing virtue and holiness. So that though mediately he spoke to the patriarchs, mostly by angels, in the fashion of men, and by them to their families, over and above the illumination in themselves; so to the prophets, for the most part, by the Revelation of the Holy Ghost in them, and by them to the *Jews;* and since the Gospel Dispensation, by his Son, both externally, *by his coming in the flesh*, and internally, *by his spiritual appearance in the soul, as he is the great Light of the world;* yet all its flowings mediately through others, have still been from the same principle, co-operating with the manifestation of it immediately in man's own particular.

§ 2. This is of great weight, for our information and encouragement, that God's work, in reference to man, is *all of a piece*, and, in itself, lies in a narrow compass, and that his eye has ever been upon the same thing in all his dispensations, viz. *to make men truly good*, by planting his holy awe, and fear in their hearts: though he has condescended, for the hardness and darkness of men's hearts, to approach, and spell out his holy mind, to them, by low and carnal ways, as they may appear to our more enlightened understandings: suffering *truth* to put on divers sorts of garments, the better to reach to the low state of men, to engage them from false gods, and ill lives; seeing them sunk so much below their nobler part,

and what he made them, that, like brute beasts, they knew not their own strength and excellency.

§ 3. And if we do but well consider the reason of the prevalency of *idolatry*, upon the earlier and darker times of the world, of which the Scripture is very particular, Gen. xxxi. xxxv.; Exod. xx.; Levit. xxi.; Deut. xxix. xxx. xxxi. xxxii.; Josh. xxii. xxiii. xxiv., we shall find that it ariseth from this: That it is more sensual, and therefore calculated to please the *senses of men;* being more *outward or visible*, or more in their own power to perform, than one more spiritual in its object. For as their gods were the workmanship of men's hands, they could not prefer them, that being the argument which did most of all gall their worshippers, and what of all things, for that reason, they were most willing to forget. But their incidency to *idolatry*, and the advantages it had upon the true religion with them, plainly came from this, *That it was more outward and sensual:* they could see the object of their devotion, and had it in their power to address it when they would. It was more *fashionable* too, as well as better accommodated to their dark and too brutal state. And therefore it was that God, by many afflictions, and greater deliverances, brought forth a people, to endear himself to them, that they might *remember the hand that saved them*, and worship him, and him only; in order to root up *idolatry*, and *plant* the knowledge and fear of him in their minds, for an example to other nations. Whoever reads *Deuteronomy*, which is a summary of the other four books of Moses, will find the frequent and earnest care and concern of that good man for *Israel*, about this very point; and how often that people slipt and lapsed, notwithstanding God's love, care, and pa-

tience over them, into the *idolatrous* customs of the nations about them. Divers other Scriptures inform us also, especially those of the prophets, Isa. xliv. xlv.; Psalms xxxvii. cxv.; and Jer. x., where the *Holy Ghost* confutes and rebukes the people, and mocks their *idols* with a sort of holy disdain.

§ 4. Now that which is farthest from idolatry, and the best *antidote* against it, is the *principle* we have laid down, and the more people's minds are turned and brought to it, and that they resolve their faith, worship, and obedience into the holy illuminations and power of it, the *nearer* they grow to the end of their creation, and consequently to their Creator. They are more spiritually qualified, and become better fitted to worship God as he is: who, as we are told, by our Lord Jesus Christ, *Is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and that they* are such sort of worshippers which God seeketh to worship him, in this gospel-day. "The hour cometh," saith he, "and now is." That is, some now do so, but more shall. A plain assertion in present, and a *promise* and *prophecy* of the increase of *such* worsphippers in future. Which shews a change intended from a ceremonial worship, and state of the church of God, to a *spiritual* one. Thus the text: "*But the time cometh, and now is, when true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth.*" Which is as much as to say, when the worship of God shall be more *inward* than *outward* and so more *suitable* to the nature of God, and the nobler part of man, his *inside*, or his *inward and better* man: for so those blessed words import, in "spirit and in truth." *In spirit*, that is, *through the power of the Spirit. In truth*, that is, in *realities*, not in shadows, ceremonies, or formalities, but in sincerity,

with and in Life, being divinely prepared and animated; which brings man not only to offer up *right* worship, but also into *intimate communion and fellowship with God, who is a Spirit.*

§ 5. And if it be duly weighed, it will appear, that God in all his manifestations of himself, hath still come *nearer* and *nearer* to the insides of men, that he might reach to their understandings, and open their hearts and give them a plainer and nearer acquaintance with himself in spirit: and then it is that man must seek and find the knowledge of God for his eternal happiness. Indeed, all things that are made shew forth the power and wisdom of God, and his goodness too, to mankind; and therefore many men urge the *Creation* to silence *Atheistical* objections: but tho' all those things shew a God, yet man does it, above all the rest. He is the *precious stone* of the ring, and the most *glorious jewel* of the *globe;* to whose reasonable use, service, and satisfaction, the whole seems to be made and dedicated. *But God's delight* (by whom man was made, we are told by the Holy Ghost) *is in the habitable parts of the earth, with the sons of men*, Prov. viii. 31. And with those that are contrite in spirit, Isa. lxvi. 1, 2: "Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: where is the house that ye build unto me? and where is the place of my rest? For all those things hath mine hand made, and all those things have been, saith the Lord: but to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word." And why is man his delight, but because man only, of all his works, was of his likeness? This is the *intimate* relation of man to God: somewhat *nearer* than ordinary; for of all other

beings, man *only* had the honour of being his *image;* and, by his *resemblance* to God, as I may say, came his kindred with God and knowledge of him. So that the nearest and best way for man to know God, and be acquainted with him, is to seek him in himself, in his *image;* and, as he finds that, he comes to find and know God. Now man may be said to be God's image in a double respect. *First*, As he is of an immortal nature; and, next, as that nature is *endued* with those excellencies in *small*, and proportionable to a creature's capacity, that are by nature *infinitely* and *incomparably* in his Creator. For instance, wisdom, justice, mercy, holiness, patience, and the like. As man becomes holy, just, merciful, patient, &c. By the *copy* he will know the *original*, and by the *workmanship* in himself he will be acquainted with the holy workman. This, reader, is the *Regeneration* and *New Creature* we press, (Gal. vi. 15, 16: "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God,") *and according to this rule, we say, men ought to be religious, and walk in this world.* Man, as I said just now, is a composition of both worlds; his body is of this, his soul of the other world. The body is as the temple of the soul, the soul the *temple* of the *Word*, and the *Word* the *great temple* and *manifestation* of God. By the *body* the soul looks into and beholds this world, and by the *Word* it beholds God, and the world that is without end. Much might be said of this order of things, and their respective excellencies, but I must be brief.

## CHAPTER VIII.

§ 1. The doctrines of satisfaction and justification owned and worded according to Scripture. § 2. What constructions we can't believe of them, and which is an abuse of them. § 3. Christ owned a Sacrifice and Mediator. § 4. Justification twofold, from the guilt of sin, and from the power and pollution of it. § 5. Exhortation to the reader upon the whole.

§ 1. THOUGH there be many good things said, how Christ appears and works in a soul, to awaken, convince and convert it; yet you seem not particular enough about the death and sufferings of Christ: and it is generally rumoured and charged upon you by your adversaries, that you have little reverence to the doctrine of Christ's satisfaction to God for our sins, and that you do not believe, that the active and passive obedience of Christ, when he was in the world, is the alone ground of a sinner's justification before God.

Answ. The doctrines of *satisfaction* and *justification*, truly understood, are placed in so strict an union, that the one is a necessary consequence of the other, and what we say of them, is what agrees with the suffrage of Scripture, and for the most part in the terms of it; always believing, that in points where there arises any difficulty, be it from the obscurity of expression, mis-translation, or the dust raised by the heats of *partial* writers, or *nice critics*, it is ever best to keep close to the text, and maintain charity in the rest. I shall first speak *negatively*, what we do not own, which perhaps hath given occasion to those who

have been more hasty than wise, to judge us defective, in our belief of the efficacy of the death and sufferings of Christ to justification: as

§ 2. *First*, we cannot believe that Christ is the *cause*, but the *effect* of God's love, according to the testimony of the beloved disciple *John*, chap. iii.: *God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son into the world, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.*

*Secondly*, we cannot say, God could not have taken another way to have saved sinners, than by the death and sufferings of his Son, to satisfy his justice, or that Christ's death and sufferings were a *strict* and *rigid* satisfaction for that eternal death and misery due to man for sin and transgression: for such a notion were to make God's mercy little concerned in man's salvation; and indeed we are at too great a distance from his infinite wisdom and power, to judge of the *liberty* or *necessity* of his actings.

*Thirdly*, we cannot say Jesus Christ was the *greatest sinner* in the world, (because he bore our sins on his cross, or because he was made sin for us, who knew no sin,) an expression of great *levity* and *unsoundness*, yet often said by great preachers and professors of religion.

*Fourthly*, we cannot believe that Christ's death and sufferings so satisfies God or justifies men, as that they are thereby accepted of God: they are indeed thereby put into a state capable of being accepted of God, and, through the obedience of faith and sanctification of the Spirit, are in a state of acceptance: for we can never think a man justified before God, while *self-condemned:* or that any man can be in Christ who is not a *new* creature; or that God looks upon men

otherwise than they are. We think it a state of *presumption* and not of *salvation*, to call *Jesus Lord*, and not by the work of the *Holy Ghost: Master*, and he not yet *master* of their *affections: Saviour*, and they not saved by him from their *sins: Redeemer*, and yet they not redeemed by him from their *passion*, *pride*, *covetousness*, *wantonness*, *vanity*, *vain honours*, *friendships*, and *glory* of this world: which were to deceive themselves; for God will not be mocked. Such as men sow, such they must reap. And though Christ did *die* for us, yet we must, by the assistance of his grace, *work out our salvation with fear and trembling:* as he died for sin, so we must die to sin, or we cannot be said to be saved by the death and sufferings of Christ, or thoroughly justified and accepted with God. Thus far negatively. Now, positively, what we own as to justification.

§ 3. We do believe that Jesus Christ was our holy *sacrifice*, *atonement*, and *propitiation;* that he bore our iniquities, and that by his stripes we were healed of the wounds *Adam* gave us in his fall; and that God is just in forgiving true penitents upon the credit of that holy offering Christ made of himself to God for us; and that what he did and suffered satisfied and pleased God, and was for the sake of fallen man, that had displeased God; and that through the offering up of himself once for all, through the eternal Spirit, he hath forever perfected those (in all times) that were sanctified, *who walked not after the flesh, but after the Spirit*, Rom. viii. 1. Mark that.

§ 4. In short, *justification* consists of *two* parts, or hath a *twofold* consideration, viz., justification from the *guilt of sin*, and justification from the *power and pollution of sin*, and in this sense justification gives

a man a full and clear acceptance before God. For want of this latter part it is, that so many souls, religiously inclined, are often under *doubts*, *scruples*, and despondencies, notwithstanding all that their teachers tell them of the extent and efficacy of the first part of justification. And it is too general an unhappiness among the professors of Christianity, that they are apt to *cloak* their own active and passive *disobedience* with the *active and passive obedience of Christ.* The first part of justification, we do reverently and humbly acknowledge, is only for the sake of the death and sufferings of Christ: nothing can we do, *though by the operation of the Holy Spirit*, being able to cancel old debts, or wipe out old scores: it is the power and efficacy of that propitiatory offering, upon *faith* and *repentance*, that justifies us from the sins that are past; and it is the power of Christ's Spirit in our hearts, that purifies and makes us acceptable before God. For till the heart of man is purged from sin, God will never accept of it. He reproves, rebukes and condemns those that entertain sin there, and therefore such cannot be said to be in a *justified state;* condemnation and justification being contraries: so that they who hold themselves in a justified state by the active and passive obedience of Christ, while they are not actively and passively obedient to the Spirit of Christ Jesus, are under a *strong* and *dangerous delusion;* and for crying out against this sin-pleasing imagination, not to say *doctrine*, we are staged and reproached as deniers and despisers of the death and sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ. But be it known to such, they add to Christ's sufferings, and crucify to themselves afresh the Son of God, and trample the blood of the covenant under their feet, that walk unholily

under a profession of justification: for God will not acquit the guilty, nor justify the disobedient and unfaithful.

Such deceive themselves, and at the great and final judgment their sentence will not be, *Come, ye blessed*, because it cannot be said to them, *Well done good and faithful*, for they cannot be so esteemed that live and die in a reprovable and condemnable state; but, *Go ye cursed*, &c.

§ 5. Wherefore, O my reader! rest not thyself wholly satisfied with what Christ has done for thee in his blessed person without thee, but press to know his power and kingdom *within thee*, that the *strong man*, that has too long kept thy house, may be *bound*, and his goods *spoiled*, his works *destroyed*, and sin *ended*, according to 1 John iii. 7: "Little children, let no man deceive you, he that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as He is righteous." "*For which end*," says that beloved disciple, "*Christ was manifested*, that all things may become new: *new heavens and new earth, in which righteousness dwells.*" Thus thou wilt come to glorify God in thy body and in thy spirit, which are his, and live to him and not to thyself. Thy love, joy, worship and obedience; thy life, conversation, and practice; thy study, meditation, and devotion, will be spiritual: for the Father and the Son will make their *abode* with thee, and Christ will manifest himself to thee; for "the *secrets* of the Lord are with them that fear *him:*" and an holy *unction* or *anointing* have all those, which leads them *into all truth*, and they need not the teachings of men. They are better taught, being instructed by the *divine oracle:* no bare *hearsay*, or *traditional Christians*, but fresh and living witnesses:

those that have seen with their *own eyes*, and heard with their *own ears*, and have handled with their *own hands*, the word of life, in the divers operations of it to their souls' salvation. In this they meet, in this they preach, and in this they pray and praise. Behold the new covenant fulfilled, the church and worship of Christ, the great *Anointed* of God, and the great *anointing* of God, in his holy high-priesthood, and offices in his church!

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## CHAPTER IX.

§ 1. A confession to Christ and his work, both in doing and suffering. § 2. That ought not to make void our belief and testimony of his inward and spiritual appearance in the soul. § 3. What our testimony is in the latter respect: that it is impossible to be saved by Christ without us, while we reject his work and power within us. § 4. The dispensation of grace, in its nature and extent. § 5. A further acknowledgment to the death and sufferings of Christ. § 6. The conclusion, showing our adversaries' unreasonableness.

§ 1. And lest any should say we are *equivocal* in our expressions, and *allegorize* away Christ's appearance in the flesh; meaning only thereby, our own flesh; and that as often as we mention Him, we mean only a *mystery*, or a *mystical sense* of Him, be it as to his *coming*, *birth*, *miracles*, *sufferings*, *death*, *resurrection*, *ascension*, *mediation* and *judgment;* I would yet add, to preserve the well-disposed from being staggered by such suggestions, and to inform and reclaim such as are under the power and prejudice of them, that, we do, we bless God, religiously believe

and confess, to the glory of God the Father, and the honour of his dear and beloved Son, that, *Jesus Christ took our nature upon him, and was like unto us in all things*, sin excepted: *That he was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor, was crucified, dead, and buried in the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea; rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sits on the right hand of God, in the* power and majesty of his Father; *who will one day judge the world by him, even that* blessed man, Christ Jesus, *according to their works.*

§ 2. But because we so believe, must we not believe what Christ said, "*He that is with you shall be* in you"? John xiv. "I in them and *they in me*," &c.: chap. xvii. "*When it pleased God to reveal his Son* in me," &c.: Gal. "*The mystery hid from ages, is Christ in the Gentiles the hope of glory:*" Col. i. "*Unless Christ be* in you, ye are *reprobates:*" 2 Cor. xiii. Or must we be industriously represented deniers of Christ's coming in the flesh, and the holy *ends* of it, in all the parts and branches of his *doing* and *suffering*, only because we believe and press the necessity of believing, receiving and *obeying* his *inward* and *spiritual* appearance and manifestation of himself, through his light, grace, and Spirit, in the hearts and consciences of men and women, to reprove, convict, convert, and change them? This we esteem hard and unrighteous measure; nor would our warm and sharp adversaries be so dealt with by others: but to do as they would be done to, is too often no part of their practice, whatever it be of their profession.

§ 3. Yet we are very ready to declare to the whole world, that we cannot think men and women *can be*

*saved* by their belief of the one, without *the sense and experience of the other;* and that is what we oppose, and not his blessed manifestation in the flesh. We say that he then overcame our common enemy, foiled him in the open field, and in our nature triumphed over him that had overcome and triumphed over it in our forefather Adam and his posterity: and that as truly as Christ overcame him in our nature, in his own person, so, *by his divine grace*, being received and obeyed by us, he overcomes him in us: that is, he detects the enemy by his light in the conscience, and *enables* the creature to resist him and all his fiery darts; and finally, so to fight the good fight of faith, as to *overcome* him, and lay hold on eternal life.

§ 4. And this is the dispensation of *grace*, which we declare has appeared to all, more or less; teaching those that will receive it, "*to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; looking for* (which none else can justly do) *the blessed hope, and glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ,*" &c.: Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13. And as from the teachings, experience and motion, of this grace we minister to others, so the very drift of our ministry is to turn people's minds to this grace in themselves, that all of them may up and be doing, "*even the good and acceptable will of God, and work out their salvation with fear and trembling, and make their high and heavenly calling and election sure;*" which none else can do, whatever be their *profession, church, and character; for such as men sow they must reap; and his servants we are whom we obey. Regeneration* we must know, or we cannot be children of God,

and heirs of eternal glory: and to be born again, *another* spirit and principle must *prevail*, *leaven*, *season*, and *govern* us, than either the spirit of the world, or our own depraved spirits; and this can be no other spirit than that which dwelt in Christ; for unless that dwell in us, we can be none of his. Rom. viii. 9.: "*But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.*" And this Spirit begins in *conviction*, and ends in *conversion* and *perseverance;* and the one follows the other. Conversion being the consequence of *convictions obeyed*, and perseverance a natural *fruit* of conversion, and being born of God. "*For such sin not, because the Seed of God abides in them.*" John iii. 7, 8: "*Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit.*" But such, through faithfulness, continue to the end, and obtain the promise, even everlasting life.

§ 5. But let my *reader* take this along with him, that we do acknowledge that *Christ*, through his holy *doing* and *suffering*, (for being a Son he learned *obedience*) has obtained mercy of God his Father for mankind, and that his obedience has an influence to our salvation, in all the parts and branches of it, since thereby he became a conqueror, and *led captivity captive, and obtained gifts for men, with divers great and precious promises, that thereby we might be partakers of the divine nature, having* (first) *escaped the corruption that is in the world, through lust.* I say, we do believe and confess, that the *active* and

*passive obedience* of Christ Jesus affects our salvation throughout, as well from the power and pollution of sin, as from the guilt, he being a conqueror as well as a sacrifice, and both through suffering. Yet they that reject his divine gift, so obtained, (and which he has given to them, by which to see their sin and the sinfulness of it, and to repent and turn away from it, and do so no more; and to wait upon God for daily strength to resist the fiery darts of the enemy, and to be comforted through the obedience of faith in and to this divine grace of the Son of God) such do not please God, believe truly in God, nor are they in a state of true Christianity and salvation. "*Woman*," said Christ, to the *Samaritan* at the well, "*hadst thou known the gift of God, and who it is that speaketh to thee*," &c. People know not Christ, and God, whom to know is life eternal, John xvii., because they are ignorant of the gift of God, viz., a measure of the Spirit of God that is given to any one to profit with. 1 Cor. xii. 7: "But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal." Which reveals Christ and God to the soul; 1 Cor. ii. 1: "And I, brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of speech, or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God.

"2. For I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified.

"3. And I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling.

"4. And my speech and my preaching *was* not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power:

"5. That your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.

"6. Howbeit we speak wisdom among them that are perfect: yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, that come to nought:

"7. But we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, *even* the hidden *wisdom*, which God ordained before the world unto our glory;

"8. Which none of the princes of this world knew: for had they known *it*, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.

"9. But as it is written, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.

"10. But God hath revealed *them* unto us by his Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God.

"11. For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God.

"12. Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God.

"13. Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual.

"14. But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know *them*, because they are spiritually discerned.

"15. But he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man.

"16. For who hath known the mind of the Lord,

that he may instruct him? But we have the mind of Christ."

*Flesh* and *blood* cannot do it, *Oxford* and *Cambridge* cannot do it, *tongues* and *philosophy* cannot do it: for they that *by wisdom* knew not God, had these things for their *wisdom*. They were strong, deep and accurate in them; but, alas! they were clouded, puffed up, and set further off from the inward and saving knowledge of God, because they sought for it in them, and thought to find God there. But the *Key* of *David* is another thing, which shuts and no man opens, and opens and no man shuts; and this key have all they that receive the *gift of God* into their hearts, and it opens to them the knowledge of God and themselves, and gives them a quite other *sight*, *taste* and *judgment* of things than their *educational* or *traditional* knowledge afforded them. This is the beginning of the *new creation* of God, and thus it is we come to be *new* creatures.

And we are bold to declare, there is no other way like this, by which people can come into Christ, or be true Christians, or receive the advantage that comes by the death and sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore we say, and upon good authority, even that of *our own experience*, as well as that of the Scriptures of truth, *Christ will prove no saving sacrifice for them, that refuse to obey him for their example.* They that *reject* the gift, deny the *giver* instead of themselves for the giver's sake. Oh that people were wise, that they would consider their latter end, and the things that make for the peace thereof! Why should they perish in a vain hope of life, *while death reigns?* Of living with God, who live not to him, nor walk with him?

*Awake*, thou that sleepest in thy sin, or at best, in thy self-righteousness! Awake, I say, and Christ shall give thee life! For he is the *Lord from heaven*, *the quickening Spirit*, that quickens us, by his Spirit, if we do not *resist* it and *quench* it by our disobedience, but receive, love and obey it, in all the holy leadings and teachings of it. Rom. viii. 14, 15, 16: "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.

"15. For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.

"16. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of God:"

To which Holy Spirit I commend my reader, that he may the better see where he is, and also come to the true belief and advantage of the *doings* and *sufferings* of our dear and blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who saves from the *power and pollution*, as well as *guilt* of sin, all those that *hear his knocks, and open the door of their hearts* to him, that he may come in and work a real and *thorough reformation* in and for them; and so the *benefit*, virtue and efficacy of his *doings* and *sufferings* without us, will come to be livingly and effectually applied and felt, and fellowship with Christ in his death and sufferings known, according to the doctrine of the apostle; which, those that live in that which made him suffer, know not, though they profess to be saved by his death and sufferings. Much more might be said as to this matter, but I must be brief.

§ 6. To conclude this chapter, we wonder not that we should be mistaken, misconstrued and misrepresented, in what we believe and do to salvation, since

our *betters* have been so treated in the primitive times. Nor indeed is it only about doctrines of religion; for our *practice* in *worship* and *discipline* have had the same success. But this is what I earnestly desire, that however bold people are pleased to make with us, they would not *deceive* themselves in the great things of their own salvation: that while they would seem to own all to Christ, they are not found *disowned* of Christ in the last day. Read the 7th of *Matthew:* It is he that hears Christ, the great *Word of God*, and does what he enjoins, what he commands, and by his blessed example recommends, that is a *wise builder*, that has founded his house well, and built with good materials, and whose house will stand the last shock and judgment. For which cause we are often plain, close and earnest with people to consider, that Christ came not to save them in, but *from their sins;* and that they that think to discharge and release themselves of his *yoke* and *burden*, his *cross* and *example*, and secure themselves, and compliment Christ with his having done all for them (while he has wrought *little or nothing in them* nor they parted with any thing for the love of him) will finally awake in a dreadful surprise, at the sound of the *last trumpet*, and at this sad and irrevocable sentence, "*Depart from me ye workers of iniquity, I know you not:*" which terrible end may all timely avoid, by hearkening to wisdom's voice, and *turning* at her reproof, that she may lead them in the ways of righteousness, and in the midst of the paths of judgment, that their souls may come to inherit *substance;* even *durable riches and righteousness* in the kingdom of the Father, *world without end.*

## CHAPTER X.

§ 1. Of *the true* worship *of God in what it stands.* § 2. *Of the true* ministry, *that it is by inspiration.* § 3. *The Scripture plain in that case.* § 4. *Christ's ministers,* true witnesses, *they speak what they know, not by report.* § 5. *Christ's ministers preach* freely; *it is one of their* marks.

§ 1. As the Lord wrought effectually, by his divine grace, in the hearts of this people, so he thereby brought them to a *divine worship and ministry:* Christ's words they came to experience, viz.: *That God was a Spirit, and that he would therefore be worshipped in the Spirit, and in the truth, and that such worshippers the Father would seek to worship him.* For, bowing to the convictions of the Spirit in themselves, in their daily course of living, by which they were taught to eschew that which was made manifest to them to be evil, and to do that which was good, they, in their assembling together, sat down, and waited for the preparation of this Holy Spirit, both to let them see their states and conditions before the Lord, and to worship him acceptably; and as they were sensible of wants, or shortness, or infirmities, so in the secret of their own hearts, prayer would spring to God, through Jesus Christ, to help, assist and supply: but they did not dare *to awake their Beloved before his time; or approach the throne of the King of Glory, till he held out his sceptre; or take thought what they should say,* or after their own or other men's studied *words and forms,* for this were to offer

*strange fire;* to pray, but not by the Spirit; to ask, but not in the name, that is, in the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, who prayed, as well as spoke, like one having authority, that is, *power*, a *divine energy* and *force* to reach and pierce the heavens, which he gives to all that obey his *light*, *grace* and *Spirit*, in their solemn waitings upon him. So that it is this people's principle, that *fire must come* from *heaven;* life and power from God to enable the soul to pour out itself acceptably before him.

And when a *coal from his holy altar touches our* lips, then can we pray and praise him as we ought to do. And as this is our principle, and that according to Scripture, so it is, blessed be God, our experience and practice: and therefore it is we are separated from the worships of men, under their several forms, because they do not found it in the operation, motion and assistance of the Spirit of Christ, but the appointment, invention and framing of man, both as to the matter, words and time. We do not dissent in our own wills, and we dare not comply against his that has called us, and brought us to his own spiritual worship; in obedience to whom we are what we are, in our separation from the divers ways of worship in the world.

§ 2. And as our *worship* stands in the operation of the *Spirit* and *Truth* in our inward parts, as before expressed, so does our ministry. For as the holy testimonies of the servants of God of old, were from the operation of his blessed Spirit, so must those of his servants be in every age, and that which has not the Spirit of Christ for its spring and source, is of *man*, and not of *Christ*. Christian ministers are to minister *what they receive:* this is *Scripture;* now

that which we receive is not our own, less another man's, but the Lord's: so that we are not only not to *steal* from our neighbours, but we are not to *study* nor speak our *own words*. If we are not to study what we are to say before magistrates for ourselves, less are we to study what we are to say *for and from* God to the people. We are to minister, *as the oracles of God;* if so, then must we receive *from Christ*, God's great oracle, what we are to minister. And if we are to minister what we receive, then not what we study, collect, and beat out of our own brains, for that is not the mind of Christ, but our imaginations, and this will not profit the people.

§ 3. This was recommended to the Corinthians by the Apostle Paul, 1 Cor. xiv., that they should speak *as they were moved, or as any thing was revealed to them, by the Spirit*, for the edification of the church; for, says he, *ye may all prophesy;* that is, ye may all preach to edification, *as any thing is revealed to you*, for the good of others, *and as the Spirit giveth* utterance. And if the Spirit must give Christ's ministers their utterance, then those that are his are careful not to utter any thing in his name to the people, without his Spirit; and by good consequence, they that go before the true guide, and utter words without the knowledge of the mind of the Spirit, are none of Christ's ministers: such, certainly, run, and God has not sent them, and they cannot profit the people. And indeed, how should they, when it is impossible that mere man, with all his parts, arts and acquirements, *can turn people from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God*, which is the very end and work of the gospel ministry. It must be inspired men, men gifted by God, taught and in-

fluenced by his heavenly Spirit, that can be qualified for so great, so inward, and so spiritual a work.

§ 4. *Ministers* of Christ are his *witnesses;* and the credit of a witness is, that he has *heard*, *seen* or *handled:* and thus the beloved disciple states the *truth* and authority of their *mission* and *ministry;* 1 John i. 1, 3: *That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon and our hands have handled, that declare we unto you, that your fellowship may be with us, and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ.* I say, if Christ's ministers are his *witnesses*, they must know what they speak; that is, they must have experienced and passed through those *states* and *conditions*, they preach of, and practically know those truths they declare of to the people, or they come not in by the door, but over the wall, and are *thieves* and *robbers.* He that has the key of *David* comes in at the door, Christ Jesus, and has his *admission* and *approbation* from him, *anointed* by him, the alone *high-priest* of the gospel dispensation. He it is that breathes, and *lays his hands* upon his own ministers; he anoints them, and recruits their cruse, and renews their *horn* with *oil*, that they may have it pure and fresh for every occasion and service he calls them to, and engages them in.

§ 5. Nor is this all, *but as they receive freely, freely they give:* they do not teach for *hire*, divine for *money*, nor preach for *gifts* or *rewards.* It was Christ's holy command to his ministers to give *freely*, and it is our practice. And truly we cannot but admire that this should be made a fault, and that preaching for hire should not be seen to be one; yea, a *mark* of false prophets, when it has been so fre-

quently and severely cried out upon, by the true prophets of God in former times. I would not be uncharitable, but the guilty are desired to call to mind, who it was that offered money to be made a minister, and what it was for; if not to get money and make a trade or livelihood by it; and what answer he met with from the Apostle Peter, Acts viii. 18, 19, 20: "*And when Simon saw that through laying on of the apostle's hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money, saying, Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost. But Peter said unto him, Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money.*"

The Lord touch the hearts of those that are giving money to be made ministers, in order to live by their preaching, that they may see what ground it is they build upon, and repent, and turn to the Lord, that they may find mercy, and become living witnesses of his power and goodness in their own souls; so may they be enabled to tell others *what God has done for them*, which is the *root* and *ground* of the true *ministry;* and this ministry it is that God does bless. I could say much on this subject, but let what has been said suffice at this time, only I cannot but observe, that where any religion has a strong temptation of gain to induce men to be ministers, there is great danger of their running faster to that calling, than becomes a true gospel minister.

§ 1. Obj. *But does not this sort of ministry, and worship, tend to make people careless, and to raise spiritual pride in others, may it not give an occasion to great mischief and irreligion?*

*Answ.* By no means, for when people are of *age*,

they, of right, expect their inheritances; and the end of all words is to bring people to the great *Word*, and then the promise of God is accomplished, "*They shall be all taught of me, from the least to the greatest, and in righteousness* (pray mark that) *they shall be established, and great shall be their peace.*" To this of the evangelical prophet, the beloved disciple agrees, and gives a full answer to the objection: *These things have I written unto you, concerning them that seduce you: but the* anointing, which ye have *received of him, abideth* in you, *and ye* need not *that any man teach you, but as the same* anointing *teacheth you, of all things, and is truth, and is no lie: and even as it hath taught you*, ye shall abide in him: In which, three things are observable. 1st. That he wrote his epistle upon an extraordinary occasion, viz. to prevent their delusion. 2dly. That he asserts a nearer and superior minister than himself, viz. the *anointing* or *grace* they had received; and that not only in that particular exigency, but in *all cases* that might attend them. 3dly. That if they did but take head to the teachings of it, they would have no need of man's directions, or fear of his seducings. At least of no *ministry that comes not from the power of the anointing:* though I rather take the apostle in the highest sense of the words: thus also the Apostle *Paul to the Thessalonians:* "*But as touching brotherly love, ye need not that I write unto you: for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another,*" 1 Thess. iv. 9. But helps are useful, and a great blessing, if from God, such was *John* the Baptist's; but remember he pointed all to Christ. John i. 26: "Lo, the Lamb of God! I baptize you with water, but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost

and with fire," Matt. iii. 11. And so the true ministry does. And while people are *sensual*, and under such an eclipse, by the interposition of *sin* and *Satan*, God is pleased to send forth his *enlightening* servants to awaken and turn them *from the darkness to the light in themselves*, that, through obedience to it, they may come to be *children of the light*. John xii. 36: And have their fellowship one with another in it, and an inheritance at last, with the saints in light forever.

And as it is the way God has taken to call and gather people, so a *living* and *holy ministry* is of great advantage to watch over, and build up the young, and *comfort* and *establish* the feeble and simple ones. But still I say, the *more inward*, the *less outward;* the more people come to be taught immediately of God, by the light of his word and Spirit in their hearts, the less need of outward means, read Isa. lx. 19, 20: "*The sun shall be no more thy light by day; neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee: but the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory. Thy sun shall no more go down; neither shall thy moon withdraw itself: for the Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended.*" Which is held by all to be a gospel promise, and the sun and moon there are generally understood to mean the external means in the church. Compare them with John i. 13: "*Which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.*" And Rom. i. 19: "*Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them: for God hath shewed it unto them.*" And 1 Cor. ii. 11–15: "*For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? Even so, the things of God*

*knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God. Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual. But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. But he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man.*" And 1 Thess. iv. 9: "*But as touching brotherly love, ye need not that I write unto you: for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another.*" And 1 John ii. 20–27: "*But ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things. I have not written unto you because ye know not the truth; but because ye know it, and that no lie is of the truth. Who is a liar, but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? He is Antichrist, that denieth the Father and the Son. Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father:* (BUT HE THAT ACKNOWLEDGETH THE SON HATH THE FATHER ALSO.) *Let that therefore abide in you, which ye have heard from the beginning. If that which ye have heard from the beginning shall remain in you, ye also shall continue in the Son, and in the Father. And this is the promise that he hath promised us, even eternal life. These things have I written unto you concerning them that seduce you. But the anointing, which ye have received of him, abideth in you; and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught*

*you, ye shall abide in him.*" And Rev. xxi. 22, 23, 24: "*And I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God Almighty, and the Lamb, are the temple of it. And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. And the nations of them which are saved, shall walk in the light of it; and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it.*" All which places prove what we assert of the sufficiency and glorious privilege of inward and spiritual teachings. And most certainly, as men grow in *grace*, and know the *anointing* of the Word in themselves, the dispensation will be less in words (though in words) and more in life; and preaching will in great measure be turned into *praising*, and the worship of God, more into *walking with*, than talking of God: for that is *worship indeed*, that *bows* to his will at all times, and in all places: the *truest*, the *highest* worship, man is capable of in this world. And it is that conformity that gives communion, and there is no fellowship with God, no light of his countenance to be enjoyed, no peace and assurance to be had, further than their *obedience* to his will, and a *faithfulness* to his word, according to the manifestation of the light thereof in the heart.

I say, this is the *truest* and *highest* state of worship; for *set days and places*, with all the solemnity of them, were most in request *in the* weakest dispensation. *Altars, arks and temples, Sabbaths and festivals*, &c., are not to be found in the writings of the New Testament. There every day is alike, and every place is alike; but if there were a dedication, *let it be to the Lord.* Rom. xiv. 5, 6, 7, 8, 17: "*One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth*

*every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it. He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks. For none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord; whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's.*

17th ver. "*For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.*"

1 Cor. viii. 6: "*But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.*" Col. ii. 16, 17: "*Let no man therefore, judge you, in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holy-day, or of the new-moon, or of the sabbath-days; which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ.*"

Phil. i. 21: "*For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.*"

Gal. ii. 20: "*I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live: yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me.*" Thus the Apostle, but he plainly shows a state beyond it, *for to live* (with him) *was Christ, and to die was gain;* for the life he lived, *was by the faith of the Son of God, and therefore it was not he that lived, but* Christ that lived in him; that is, that *ruled, conducted,* and *bore sway* in him,

which is the true *Christian life*, the *supersensual life;* the *life of conversion and* regeneration; to which all the *dispensations* of God, and *ministry* of his servants have ever tended, as the *consummation* of God's work for man's happiness. Here every man is a *temple*, and every family a *church*, and every place a *meeting-place*, and every visit a *meeting*. And yet a little while and it shall be so yet more and more; and a people the Lord is now preparing to enter into this Sabbath or degree of rest.

Not that we would be thought to undervalue public and solemn meetings: we have them all over the nation where the Lord hath called us. Yea, though but two or three of us be in a corner of a country, we meet, as the Apostle exhorted the saints of his time, and reproved such as neglected to assemble themselves. But yet show we unto thee, *O reader, a more excellent way* of worship: for many may come to those meetings, and go away *carnal, dead and dry;* but the worshippers *in spirit and in truth*, whose *hearts* bow, whose *minds* adore the Eternal God, *that is a Spirit*, in and by his Spirit, such as conform to his will, and walk with him in a spiritual life, they are the *true, constant, living* and *acceptable worshippers;* whether it be in meetings or out of meetings; and as with such, all outward assemblies are greatly comfortable, so also do we meet for a public testimony of religion and worship, and for the *edification* and *encouragement* of those that are yet young in the truth, and to *call* and *gather* others to the knowledge of it, who are yet going astray; and blessed be God, it is not in vain, since many are thereby added to the church, that we hope and believe shall be saved.

## CHAPTER XI.

*§ 1. Against tithes. § 2. Against all swearing. § 3. Against war among Christians. § 4. Against the salutations of the times. § 5. And for plainness of speech. § 6. Against mixt marriages. § 7. And for plainness in apparel, &c. No sports and pastimes after the manner of this world. § 8. Of observing days. § 9. Of care of poor, peace and conversation.*

§ 1. And as God has been pleased to call us from an *human ministry*, so we cannot for conscience' sake support and maintain it, and upon that score, and not out of *humour or covetousness*, we refuse to pay *tithes*, or such like pretended dues, concerning which, many books have been writ in our defence: we cannot support what we cannot approve, but have a testimony against; for thereby we should be found *inconsistent* with ourselves.

§ 2. We dare not *swear*, because Christ forbids it. Matt. v. 34–37: "But I say unto you, swear not at all: neither by heaven; for it is God's throne: nor by the earth; for it is his footstool: neither by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great King: neither shalt thou swear by thy head; because thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your communication be Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." And *James*, his true follower. It is needless as well as evil, for the reason of *swearing* being *untruth*, that man's *yea was not* yea. *Swearing* was used to awe men to truth-speaking, and to give others satisfaction, that what

was sworn, was true. But the true Christian's *yea being yea*, the end of an *oath* is answered and therefore the use of it is *needless, superfluous and cometh of evil.* The Apostle *James* taught the same doctrine, and the primitive *Christians* practised it, as may be seen in the Book of *Martyrs;* as also the earliest and best of the Reformers.

§ 3. We also believe, *that war ought to cease*, among the followers of the *Lamb* Christ Jesus, who taught his disciples to *forgive and love their enemies*, and not to war against them, and kill them; and that therefore the weapons of his true followers are not *carnal* but *spiritual;* yea, mighty, through God, to cut down *sin* and *wickedness*, and *dethrone* him that is the author thereof. And as this is the most *Christian*, so the most rational way; love and persuasion having more force than weapons of war. Nor would the worst of men easily be brought to hurt those that they really think love them. It is that love and patience must in the end have the victory.

§ 4. We dare not give worldly honour, or use the frequent and *modish salutations* of the times, seeing plainly, that *vanity*, *pride* and *ostentation*, belong to them. Christ also forbade them in his day, and made the love of them a mark of declension from the simplicity of purer times; and his disciples, and their followers, were observed to have obeyed their Master's precept. It is not to distinguish ourselves a party, or out of *pride*, *ill-breeding* or *humour*, but in obedience to the sight and sense we have received from the Spirit of Christ, of the *evil rise* and tendency thereof.

§ 5. For the same reason we have returned to the first *plainness* of speech, viz. *thou* and *thee*, to a

single person, which though men give no other to God, they will hardly endure it from us. It has been a great jest upon pride, and shewn the *blind and weak insides* of many. This also is out of pure conscience, whatever people may think or say of us for it. We may be despised, and have been so often, yea, very evilly entreated, but we are now better known, and the people better informed. In short, it is also both *scripture* and *grammar*, and we have propriety of speech for it, as well as peace in it.

§ 6. We cannot allow of *mixed marriages*, that is, to join with such as are not of our society; but oppose and disown them, if at any time any of our profession so grossly err from the rule of their communion; yet restore them upon sincere repentance, but not disjoin them. The book I writ of the rise and progress of the people called *Quakers*, is more full and express herein.

§ 7. *Plainness in apparel and furniture*, is another testimony peculiar to us, in the degree we have bore it to the world: as also *few words*, and being *at a word*. Likewise *temperance* in *food*, and *abstinence* from the *recreations* and pastimes of the world: all which we have been taught, by the Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, to be according to godliness; and therefore we have long exhorted all, that their *moderation may be known unto all men, for that the Lord was at hand*, to enter into judgment with us for every intemperance or excess; and herein we hope we have been no ill examples, or scandal unto any that have a due consideration of things.

§ 8. We cannot, in conscience to God, observe *holy days* (so called) the public *fasts* and *feasts*, because of their *human* institution and ordination, and that

they have not a divine warrant, but are appointed in the will of man.

§ 9. Lastly, we have been led by this good Spirit of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, of which I have treated in this discourse, according to *primitive* practice, to have a *due care* over one another, for the preservation of the whole society, in a conversation more *suitable* to their holy professions.

*First.* In respect to a strict walking both towards those that are without, and those that are within; that their conversation in the world, and walking in and towards the church, may be blameless. That as they may be *strict* in the one, so they may be *faithful* in the other.

*Secondly.* That collections be made to supply the wants of the *poor*, and that care be taken of *widows* and *orphans*, and such as are helpless, as well in counsel, as about substance.

*Thirdly.* That all such as are intended to marry, if they have *parents*, or are under the direction of *guardians* or *trustees*, are obliged, *first*, to declare to them their intention, and have their consent *before* they propose it to one another, and the meeting they relate to, who are *also careful* to examine their clearness, and being satisfied with it, they are by them allowed to solemnize their marriage in a public select meeting, for that purpose appointed, and not otherwise: whereby all *clandestine* and *indirect* marriages are prevented among us.

*Fourthly.* And to the end that this *good order* may be observed, for the comfort and edification of the *society*, in the ways of *truth* and *soberness; select meetings* (of *care* and *business*) are fixed in all parts, where we inhabit, which are held *monthly*, and which

resolve into *quarterly meetings*, and those into one *yearly* meeting, for our better communication one with another, in those things that maintain *piety* and *charity;* that God, who by his grace, has called us to be a people, to his praise, may have it from us, through his beloved Son, and our ever-blessed and only Redeemer, Jesus Christ, for he is *worthy*, *worthy*, now and ever. *Amen.*

Thus, *reader*, thou hast the *character* of the people called *Quakers*, in their *doctrine*, *worship*, *ministry*, *practice* and *discipline:* compare it with Scripture, and primitive example, and we hope thou wilt find, that this short discourse hath, in good measure, answered the title of it, viz. :—

*Primitive Christianity Revived, in the principles and practice of the people called Quakers.*

# APPENDIX.

## "GOSPEL TRUTHS."

"SOBER reader, if thou hadst rather we should be in the right than in the wrong, and if thou thinkest it but a reasonable thing that we should be heard before we are condemned, and that our belief ought to be taken from our own mouths, and not at theirs that have prejudged our cause, then we entreat thee to read and weigh the following brief account of those things that are chiefly received and professed among us, the people called Quakers, according to the testimony of the Scriptures of truth, and the illumination of the Holy Ghost, which are the double and agreeing record of true religion. Published to inform the moderate inquirer, and reclaim the prejudiced to a better temper; which God grant, to his glory and their peace.

"I. It is our belief that God is, and that he is a rewarder of all them that fear him, with eternal rewards of happiness; and that those that fear him not, shall be turned into hell. Heb. xi. 16; Rev. xxii. 12; Rom. ii. 5–8; Ps. ix. 17.

"II. That there are three that bear record in heaven: the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and these three are really one. 1 John v. 7.

"III. That the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among men, and was and is the only-begotten of the

Father, full of grace and truth—his beloved Son, in whom he is well pleased, and whom we are to hear in all things; who tasted death for every man, and died for sin, that we might die to sin, and by his power and spirit be raised up to newness of life here, and to glory hereafter. John i. 14; Matt. iii. 17; Heb. ii. 9.

"IV. That as we are only justified from the guilt of sin by Christ, the propitiation, and not by works of righteousness that we have done, so there is an absolute necessity that we receive and obey, to unfeigned repentance and amendment of life, the holy light and spirit of Jesus Christ, in order to obtain that remission and justification from sin; since no man can be justified by Christ who walks not after the Spirit, but after the flesh; for whom he sanctifies, them he also justifies. And if we walk in the light as he is light, his precious blood cleanseth us from all sin, as well from the pollution as guilt of sin. Rom. iii. 22–26; chap. viii. 1–4; 1 John v. 7.

"V. That Christ is the great light of the world, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and is full of grace and truth, and giveth to all light for light, and grace for grace; and by his light and grace he inwardly appears to man, and teaches such as will be taught by him, 'that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, they should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.' John vii. 12; chap. i. 9, 14; Tit. ii. 11, 12.

"VI. That this principle of light and grace, which is God's gift, through Christ to man, is that which shows us our sins, reproves us for them, and would lead all out of them that obey it, to serve God in fear and love all their days. And they that turn

not at the reproofs thereof, and will not repent, and live and walk according to it, shall die in their sins; and where Christ is gone, they shall never come; who is undefiled and separated from sinners. Eph. v. 13; John xvi. 7; Prov. i. 20–24; John viii. 24.

"VII. This is that principle by which God prepares the heart to worship him aright; and all the duties of religion, as praying, praising, and preaching, ought to be performed through the sanctifying power and assistance of it; other worship being but formal and will-worship, with which we cannot in conscience join, nor can we maintain or uphold it. Rom. viii. 26; 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11.

"VIII. Worship in this gospel-day, is inward and spiritual; for God is a Spirit, as Christ teacheth, and he will now be worshipped in spirit and in truth, being most suitable to his divine nature. Wherefore we wait in our assemblies to feel God's Spirit to open and move upon our hearts, before we dare offer sacrifice to the Lord or preach to others the way of his kingdom; that we may preach in power as well as words, and as God promised and Christ ordained, without money, and without price. John iv. 23, 24; 1 Thess. i. 5; Isa. lv. 1; Rev. xxii. 17; Matt. x. 8.

"IX. This also leads us to deny all the vain customs and fashions of the world, and to avoid excess in all things, that our moderation may be seen of all men; because the Lord is at hand to see and judge us according to our deeds. Tit. ii. 12; Rom. xii. 2; Phil. iv. 5; Eccl. xii. 14; Matt. xvi. 27; Rom. ii. 6; Rev. xx. 12.

"X. We believe the necessity of the one baptism of Christ, as well as of his one supper, which he promised to eat with those that open the door of their

hearts to him, being the baptism and supper signified by the outward signs; which, though we disuse, we judge not those that conscientiously practise them. Matt. iii. 11; Eph. iv. 1; 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22; John vi.; Rev. iii. 20.

"XI. We honour government, for we believe it is an ordinance of God; and that we ought in all things to submit, by doing or suffering; but esteem it a great blessing, where the administration is a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well. Rom. xiii. 1–5.

"This hath all along been the general stream and tendency, both of our ministry and writings, as our books will make appear, notwithstanding what ill-minded and prejudiced persons may have strained to misrepresent us and our Christian profession.

"WILLIAM PENN, THOMAS STORY,
"ANTHONY SHARP, GEORGE ROOK.*

"DUBLIN, 3d month, 1698."

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* Penn's Select Works, London ed. 1771.

THE END.

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